

## INOUE ENRYO: TOWARDS A HERMENEUTICS OF THE IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON EDUCATION

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### Preliminary Remarks

In this paper I attempt to show that the constitutive difference in INOUE Enryō's 井上円了 organization of his *Text on Shūshin for Middle Level [Schools]* 『中等修身書』 (1898) lies in the formalization of the contents of the Imperial Rescript on Education 「教育ニ関スル勅語」 into a well-founded system of moral education. Enryō developed his *shūshin* 修身 [morals or moral cultivation] course for middle schools against the background of some twenty or more commentaries on the Imperial Rescript on Education and several *shūshin* courses that had already been published under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. We will see how Enryō applied his training in philosophy in the construction of his *shūshin* textbooks.

Although the emphasis will be placed on the formal aspect of the course, Inoue Enryō's was not a purely formal philosophical effort, instead he showed great concern

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for the educational practice applied to the middle-school level. This can more easily be seen when placed in the context of contemporary texts produced by other authors in the history of Meiji education. In this way, Enryō's course can be considered as an interlocutionary effort, or as a dialogue of interpretations. In short, I try to present the manner in which Enryō—starting from a well-founded principle—develops a system of ethics through a procedure that can be called a *Hermeneutics of the Imperial Rescript on Education*.

It has been customary in the treatment of the Rescript to consider two main aspects: a) the process through which the document took its final shape, the content and the meaning of the final text; and b) the historical conditions under which it was produced and the political meaning of its promulgation.<sup>1</sup> However, the intention of this paper is to consider the interpretation of the Rescript from the perspective of an intertextual dialogue and of the manner in which a hermeneutics of the Rescript was carried out in the early years after its promulgation. This happened in the period between 1890 and 1908, in which there was some latitude in the interpretation of the Rescript, before the Ministry of Education established a canonical interpretation.

In order to proceed in an orderly fashion, I will present my data in the following manner:

- I. Introduction: Directives for the Teaching of Morals
- II. Shūshin and Gyōgi no satoshi: TAKASAKI Masakaze. *A Text for Use in Gyōgi satoshi for Ordinary Primary Schools* (1893)
- III. Shūshin and Ethics: Towards a Theoretical Basis
  - A. INOUE Tetsujirō. *New Theories of Ethics* (1883)
  - B. INOUE Enryō. *An Outline of Ethics* (1887)
- IV. Some Explanations of the Imperial Rescript on Education
  - A. HIGASHIKUZE Michitomi. *Education of Japan* (1890)
  - B. INOUE Tetsujirō. *The Deep Meaning of the Rescript* (1891)
  - C. INOUE Enryō. *Treatise on a Living Filial Piety and Loyalty* (1893)
  - D. INOUE Enryō. *The Mysterious Meaning of the Rescript* (1902)
- V. INOUE Tetsujirō. *Middle-School Textbook for Shūshin* (1902)
- VI. Towards a Hermeneutics of the Rescript: INOUE Enryō. *A Text on Shūshin for Middle Level [Schools]* (1898)
  1. The Course as a Five-Level Interpretation

<sup>1</sup> We can see this approach, for example, in YAMAZUMI Masami 山住正巳. 『教育勅語』 [The Imperial Rescript on Education], 4th ed. (Tokyo: 朝日新聞社, 1982), ch. 1–4.

2. General Remarks
3. The Manner of Interpretation
4. Overview

## VII. Concluding Remarks

## VIII. Appendix

1. Methodological Aspect
2. Corollary

# I. Introduction: Directives for the Teaching of Morals

Although I will not enter into the history of the foreign pedagogical influences on Meiji Japan, we should note that, as Charles DE GARMO says, two principles that stand out in the pedagogy of Johann F. HERBART are: "(1) the development of sound moral character through the activities of the school as the end of education; and (2) the apperception, or mental assimilative power of the child, as the only safe guide to the means through which this end is to be reached."<sup>2</sup> Progressive education in Japan relied mainly on Pestalozzi's pedagogy and later on Herbart's, but there were other contemporary influences which, as OTSUJI Hisashi 大辻永 says, also included "Behaviorism, Empiricism of Dewey, the influence of curriculum reform movement of USA, Constructivism, and Social Constructionism."<sup>3</sup> However, there was an aspect of Herbart's educational ideas which made them attractive to Japanese teachers. As we read in Lincicome,

According to Ronald Anderson: [... ] Traditional Japanese educators made the happy discovery that this philosophy was, unlike Pestalozzianism, congenial to their cultural needs, for it held the all-embracing task of education was to teach morality, and that this could best be done by converging the cultural heritage. [...] Teachers accepted it even more enthusiastically than they did Pestalozzi's method, since it conferred authority upon the teacher, where it had been lodged in the traditional system.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to J. C. ZINSER's English translation of Christian UFER. *Vorschule der Pädagogik Herbarts* (Dresden: Verlag von Bleyl & Kaemerer, 1883). Eng. *The Pedagogy of Herbart* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. Publishers, 1894), p. 5. Scan [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org). Accessed March 3, 2015. The translation into Japanese from the German edition was done by INOUE Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎. 『ヘルバルト教育学』 [The pedagogy of Herbart] (Tokyo: 文学書房, 1897). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed August 6, 2015. There is also a 1903 edition by Bungakusha.

<sup>3</sup> OTSUJI Hisashi 大辻永. "Focusing on the Classroom Culture of Elementary School Science in Japan" (Ibaraki University, 2015), [www.otsujih.cafe.coocan.jp/contents/ECCO\\_Otsuji\\_V05.pdf](http://www.otsujih.cafe.coocan.jp/contents/ECCO_Otsuji_V05.pdf). Accessed August 6, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Mark E. LINCICOME. *Principle, Praxis, and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), p. 99.

Another very important and crucial aspect that had to be carefully supervised by the Ministry of Education was the ends of education. As LeTendre quotes from a discourse of MORI Arinori 森有礼, the first Minister of Education in Meiji Japan:

What kind of persons should we be relying upon our educational system to produce? The kind of person who will be the virtuous subject [臣民] our Empire requires. [...] They will be the Imperial subjects who completely fulfill their duties, which means that when called upon to do so they will willingly give their lives for the State. Thus the aim of education is to cultivate persons who can be of service to the State and nation.<sup>5</sup>

We should keep in mind that the first article of the 1890 revision of the Primary School Ordinance 「小学校令」 says: "The main purpose of primary school is—taking into account the children's physical development—to give them the basis of moral education and of citizen education, and general knowledge and skills needed in life."<sup>6</sup> Article 2 says: "Primary school is divided into Ordinary Primary School and Higher Primary School [...]" (p. 1). Article 19 says: "The courses to be imparted at the Ordinary Primary Schools are *Shūshin* [修身], National language, Arithmetic, and Physical Education; to which Sewing should be added for women [...]" (p. 9), and Article 20 establishes that "The courses to be imparted at the Higher Primary Schools are *Shūshin*, National language, Arithmetic, History of Japan, Geography, Science, Painting [図書], Chanting, Physical education; to which Sewing should be added for women [...]" (p. 9). Article 67 provides that "The courses to be imparted in Primary School, teaching rules and school fees collection, will be in use until March 31, 1901" (p. 26).

In the introduction to the *Research on State-approved Shūshin Textbooks* 『国定修身書ニ関スル研究』, a text by KATAGIRI Satarō 片桐佐太郎 from 1909,<sup>7</sup> the following points are mentioned as the basis of the investigation of textbooks on *shūshin* 修身, as mandated in Article 1 of the Primary Schools Ordinance (April 1886):

a) The aim of giving them the outlines of morality is, on the basis of the main intention of the Rescript, "to cultivate the morality of children, guide their moral practice" so

5 HORIO Teruhisa. *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan*, edited and translated by Steven PLATZER (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), p. 47. Quoted from "Review of Gerald LETENDRE. *Guiding Them on: Teaching, Hierarchy, and Social Organization in Japanese Middle Schools*," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 20.1 (1994): 37–59. Scan [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org). Accessed August 6, 2015.

6 Monbushō 文部省. 『第三次小学校令：勅令第344号』 [Third Ordinance for Primary Schools: Ordinance Nr. 344] (August 18, 1890). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed August 30, 2015.

7 KATAGIRI Satarō 片桐佐太郎. 『国定修身書ニ関スル研究』 [Research on state-approved shūshin textbooks] (Tokyo: 金港堂 1909). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed February 19, 2015.

that they become "sound people of Japan" and this means that "it is expected theirs will be a well-rounded and sound personality" (p. 1). Here we should keep in mind the discussion concerning the personality of the Japanese people that arose between Percival LOWELL and NAKAJIMA Rikizō 中島力蔵, continued between Nakajima and INOUE Tet-sujirō 井上哲次郎, and with the introduction of the theory of self-realization became personalism in Japanese education.<sup>8</sup>

b) The elements of the objective self being "the four aspects, individual, familial, national, and social of its existence and their interrelations, [... all of] which are unified in the subjective self" (p. 1). In order to attain the ideal of the "maximum good," the students should be led to make the effort of carrying out good actions and fulfilling their duty as "well-rounded sound personalities [as] good Japanese [and as] good sons/daughters," so that theirs will be a good individual self," a "familial self," "a patriotic self" that offers himself or herself to the *Ōyake* 公,<sup>9</sup> and a "social self" able to engage in social intercourse (pp. 2–3).

c) "The habits of body and mind which are needed to advance towards the goal of the best living is called morality [or "virtue" 徳]," whereby the student will develop wisdom, courage and a sense of duty towards the state, love towards the family, and a social sense of duty and benevolence (p. 3).

d) "These are the moral ideal, the basic stance, and the virtues upon the foundation provided by the sacred Mandate of the Imperial Rescript on Education" (p. 3).

KIKUCHI Dairoku 菊池大麓 summarizes "the directives for the teaching of morals" as follows:

The teaching of Morals must be based on the precepts of the Imperial Rescript. Its object is to foster the growth of moral ideas and sentiments, and to give boys culture and character necessary for men of middle and higher social standing, and to encourage and promote the practice of virtues. The teaching should begin with explaining the essential points of morals in connection with the daily life by means of good words, or maxims and examples of good deeds, to be followed by a little more systematic exposition of the duties to self, to family, to society, and to the State. Elements of Ethics may also be taught.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Richard M. REITAN. *Making a Moral Society: Ethics and the State in Meiji Japan* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), pp. 81–152.

<sup>9</sup> This concept refers to the public moral-political domain and is similar to the German word *Sittlichkeit*.

<sup>10</sup> Baron KIKUCHI Dairoku [菊池大麓]. *Japanese Education: Lectures Delivered in the University of London* (London: John Murray, 1909), p. 217. Scan [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org). Accessed October 22, 2014.

In his lectures (section on the "Essential Points of Morals") Kikuchi says,

In the teaching of Morals, the following should be carefully borne in mind: (1) Maxims and examples of good deeds introduced into lessons need not be very many, but they should be apt and fitted to the conditions of modern life and pupils' surroundings; examples of an extraordinary or violent kind should be avoided, or, if introduced, boys should be warned not to apply such examples falsely. (2) In explanation of duties, it should be remembered that the future position and occupations of boys are varied, and attention should be paid to all-round applications. (3) Third and fourth years are the period of changes in the bodily and mental conditions of boys, and they are more liable to fall into temptation then; special care should therefore be taken at this age to strengthen their good resolutions and to form good habits. (4) The elements of Ethics taught should not be too high; differences of theories should be avoided, and only common notions taught, so as not to distract the boys' minds. (5) Should any occasion arise, when a moral may very aptly be pointed, or on fete-days or anniversaries, boys of the whole school or a part of them should be called together and a suitable lesson given (p. 220).

We mentioned the Primary Schools Ordinance of 1890 because the "General Guidelines for the Course of Middle Schools" 「中学校教則大綱」 of 1881 simply established the lower and upper divisions of Middle Schools, and listed *shūshin* as one of the courses. Among the sixteen subjects in the lower division and the fifteen subjects in the upper division, *shūshin* was to be taught one hour a week for thirty-five weeks in each school year.<sup>11</sup>

These quotations give us the general framework for the development of the moral character of the students according to their ability to assimilate the contents in the five levels of middle-school education.

As KOIKE Matsuji 小池末次 writes, *shūshin* textbooks promoted "a series of virtues that as Japanese [we] should not forget" and which are equally needed at the present time. However, "sixty years have already passed since the important word *shūshin* disappeared from the world of education" with the result that those who have been educated in the postwar years, even if they know that in older times the texts called *shūshin* were important in prewar Japanese education, know almost nothing about their content."<sup>12</sup> At the time the words, examples, and sayings were intended to "unknow-

11 Monbushō 文部省. 「中学校教則大綱」 [General guidelines for the course of middle schools] (1881). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed November 17, 2015.

12 KOIKE Matsuji 小池末次, ed. 『修身の教科書』 [Textbooks on *shūshin*] (Tokyo: Sunmark, 2005), pp. 8, 157–159.

ingly penetrate to the back of their [the children's] minds," as NANMA Tsunanori says in his collection of stories included in *Texts for Use in Gyōgi no satoshi* 『修身口授用書』 (1886).<sup>13</sup>

## II. Shushin and Gyogi no Satoshi

With the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education the manner of teaching morals changed from what was called *gyōgi no satoshi* 修身口授 [instruction on manners] in the 1870s, which mainly consisted of sayings from older times (including some quotations from Western books and the Bible) and exemplary actions of distinguished individuals of past times, as recounted in KATSUBE Mitake 勝部真長 and SHIBUKAWA Hisako's 渋川久子 *History of Moral Education* 『道德教育の歴史』.<sup>14</sup> The recourse to exemplary actions will also be found in the *shūshin* texts for the Ordinary Middle Schools, as we will see in the following sections.

However, we also find examples of texts bearing the old title of *gyōgi no satoshi* even though they were based on the Imperial Rescript on Education. For example, SEKIFUJI Shigeo 関藤成緒 edited a series of conferences by TAKASAKI Masakaze 高崎正風 (1836–1912) and published them in 1893 as *A Text for Use in Gyōgi satoshi for Ordinary Primary Schools* 『尋常小学修身口授用書』. These conferences were a commentary on the Rescript for primary school teaching.<sup>15</sup>

Even though the title corresponds to a previous period, the contents are an explanation of short sentences into which the Imperial Rescript on Education was divided for its exposition and explanation. I include Takasaki's text here because it represents a mixture of the old and new in the practice of teaching morals. It is a continuation of the old manner of referring to the course, but the contents are already those of the Imperial Rescript on Education. This will also allow us to see some of the similarities and differences in *shūshin* teaching at primary and secondary educational levels. The course is divided into four books, one for each grade, as prescribed by the Ministry of Education at the time of its publication.

13 NANMA Tsunanori 南摩綱紀, ed. 『修身口授用書』 [Texts for use in *gyōgi no satoshi*] (Tokyo: 中外堂, 1886), vol. 1, p. 1. Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed August 13, 2015.

14 KATSUBE Mitake 勝部真長 and SHIBUKAWA Hisako 渋川久子. 『道德教育の歴史：修身科から道德へ』 [A history of moral education: From moral cultivation to moral education] (Tokyo: Tamagawa Daigaku, 1984).

15 TAKASAKI Masakaze 高崎正風. 『尋常小学修身口授用書』 [A text for use in *gyōgi satoshi* for ordinary primary schools], ed. by SEKIFUJI Shigeo 関藤成緒 (Tokyo: Hayashi Hachinosuke 林縫之助, 1893). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed August 13, 2015.

The First Book (pp. 1–21) comprises eleven phrases from the Rescript:

1. Concerning the Imperial subjects
2. Filial piety towards parents
3. Friendship among siblings
4. Companionship between spouses
5. Mutual trust among friends
6. Proper conduct of oneself
7. Benevolence towards all
8. Study and occupation
9. Public benefit and duties
10. Respect for the Constitution and Laws
11. Offering oneself courageously to the *Ōyake*

The Second Book (pp. 1–21) includes sixteen themes:

1. Attitude towards one's parents (example of ŌKUSHI Shōtoku 大串昌徳)
2. The importance of filial piety (example of MATSUDAIRA Tsuyuko 松平露子)
3. Not contradicting one's parents (example of WATANABE Sadahachi 渡邊貞八)
4. Respect for elder brothers (example of HAMABAYASHI Chūsaburō 濱林忠三郎)
5. The love of older siblings towards younger brother and sisters (example of Toki と  
き, wife of SHINTANI Tamejirō 新谷為次郎)
6. Sincerity towards friends (example of SĪMĀ Guāng 司馬光)
7. Keeping one's promises (example of NAWA Nagatoshi [Matatarō] 名和長年[又太郎])
8. Respect for one's teachers (example of MATSUDAIRA Nōtō no kami 松平能登守)
9. Not pretending to know what one does not know (example of YAMAZAKI Ansai 山崎  
闇斎)
10. Not being short-tempered (example of MATSUDAIRA Sadanobu 松平定信)
11. Not harming people or living things (example of [Matsudaira] Tsuyuko [松平] 露子)
12. Having been born not to learn is as not having been born (Ms. Raku らく, house of  
ICHIKAWA Kamejirō 市川亀次郎)
13. Time passes and does not return (example of OGAWA Taizan 小川泰山)
14. When in doubt, ask other people (example of GAMŌ Ujisato 蒲生氏郷)
15. Respect for the laws of the country (example of HOSHINO Mihei 星野彌兵衛)
16. Requit of favors (example of ŌISHI Yoshikane 大石良金)

The Third Book (pp. 21–45) explains fifteen themes:

1. Favors from one's parents are heavy (Ninomiya Kinjirō [Sontoku] 二宮金次郎[尊徳])
2. Obeying one's parents (example of First-born girl 初女)
3. Not forgetting to requite all favors (example of NAKAE Tōju 中江藤樹)
4. Brotherly love (example of Ms. Tomi 富)
5. A younger brother or sister should love their older siblings even if his/her love is  
not requited (example of Gisuke 義助)
6. Mutual help among friends (example of ARAI Hakuseki 新井白石)
7. Trust among friends (MORI Nagasada 森長定)
8. Courage (example of TOKUGAWA Mitsukuni 徳川光圀)
9. Patience (example of KIMURA Shigenari 木村重成)
10. Benevolence (example of ABE Masahiro 安部正弘)
11. Widening one's knowledge (example of ARAI Hakuseki 新井白石)
12. The decision to learn (example of Ms. Shika しか)



13. Benefiting one's country (example of Tamezō 爲藏 from Miyaharamura 宮原村)
14. The grace of the sovereign (example of SAKURA Azumao 佐久良東雄)
15. Revering the sovereign (example of KUSUNOKI Masatsura 楠正行)

The Fourth Book (pp. 46–69) comprises sixteen themes:

1. Filial piety (example of Iku いく)
2. Love towards the ancestors (example of Iwajirō 岩次郎)
3. Respect towards older siblings (example of Sagorō 佐五郎)
4. Love for one's siblings (example of the KANEI Hirosuke 鐘尾廣助 sisters 鐘尾廣助)
5. Mutual respect between friends (example of MATSUDAIRA Sadanobu 松平定信)
6. Trust among friends (example of Fujishima and Washio 藤島・鷺尾)
7. Thinking before acting (example of two children)
8. Expenses within one's means (example of Kikumatsu 菊松)
9. Living within one's means (example of SATŌ Hiroyoshi 佐藤廣義)
10. Hidden benevolence (example of Chōbei 長兵衛)
11. A strong body and a firm will (example of MINAMOTO Ushiwaka 源牛若)
12. A powerful memory (example of Ms. Iso いそ)
13. Timely action (example of NINOMIYA Kinjirō 二宮金次郎)
14. Helping others (example of MIYAUCHI Satarō 宮内佐太郎)
15. Never refusing to serve one's country (example of Jinzaburō 甚三郎)
16. Being prepared to lay down one's life (example of MURAKAMI Yoshimitsu 村上義光, father and son)<sup>16</sup>

At the end, the text includes a "Compendium of Manners" 「作法大要」, fifty-nine in total (pp. 1–13). The first twenty-nine are addressed to first-year students, starting with early rising, going to school, the relationship among members of the family, reverence towards the Emperor, respect towards the guardians of the body and property (military, police, officials, etc.), and ending with an admonition not to bother other people. The second series (pp. 30–59), addressed to second-year students, begins with the order of precedence when sitting, when entering and going out of a room, table manners, and ends with the proper manner of receiving a Graduation Diploma.

### III. Shushin and Ethics: Towards a Theoretical Basis

Every science is a theoretical construction and ethics is a science, so it should have a solid, rational foundation. I would like to present two texts by two philosophers who endeavored to give a new theoretical foundation to ethics. The first will be INOUE Tetsujirō's *New Theories of Ethics* 『倫理新説』 (1883), and the second will be INOUE Enryō's

<sup>16</sup> Compare with the contents of INOUE Tetsujirō's and INOUE Enryō's textbooks discussed in section V and VI, and with the list of virtues that is given towards the end of section VII.

*An Outline of Ethics* 『倫理通論』 (1887). Both texts were published prior to the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

A. Inoue Tetsujirō. *New Theories of Ethics* (1883)

In 1882 INOUE Tetsujirō gave a series of lectures at Tokyo University in which he talked about the foundations of ethics and published a revised text based on the lectures which became the book under discussion here. In the Preface 諸言 he argues that "in recent times those who treat ethics, for the most part wish to relate it to religion," because philosophy is originally related to religion. The discussion of ethics goes back to religion because it is in the last instance inseparable from it.<sup>17</sup>

There are two methods in the exposition of ethics: that which presents ethics as a series of norms that must be kept; and that which considers that everything is a kind of phenomenon which must have a basis. This second view studies the basis of ethics, the criterion of good and evil. Even though from antiquity there are different theories, they are included within the two aforementioned methods.

One of these ancient theories argues that between heaven and earth there is no distinction between good and evil, and if there be such a distinction, it results from their mutual comparison, so that good and evil are mutually established by each other and not by an unchanging norm for all people. In this manner, what is now considered good can at some later time be considered evil, and what was considered evil can also be later considered good. This theory states that there is an ideal which becomes the criterion of good and evil, and that whenever this ideal changes, good and evil also change.

A second theory that has many followers states that good and evil are fixed by the will of some superior power, be it God, a sovereign ruler, or the power of reason. This is the case in Christianity, which holds that it is the will of God. Among those who think that it is the will of the ruler, Tetsujirō mentions Thomas HOBBS; and among those who think it is reason he mentions Ralph CUDWORTH, Samuel CLARKE and Richard PRICE. Others, such as the third Earl of Shaftesbury and Francis HUTCHESON hold that it is the moral sense. There are also those who, like Bernard MANDEVILLE, think that the criterion is the individual profit, or those who, like Alexander BAIN and John Stuart MILL, think it is utility. He states that his own point of view is that of evol-

<sup>17</sup> INOUE Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎. 『倫理新説』 [New theories of ethics] (Tokyo: 鉄山堂, 1883). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed March 3, 2015.

utionism, which considers that the foundation of morality is the perfection attained through adhering to the law of evolution. These are some of the main varieties of the second view.<sup>18</sup>

After the preface, the first theme INOUE Tetsujirō takes up is the "great foundation of ethics" 倫理の太本. He says that there are two main schools of ethics: a) the school of direct perception, which comprises ascetic ethics, and perfection ethics, individual and communitarian; and b) the hedonistic school, individual and communitarian. In the last instance, both schools seek happiness (p. 11).

In China, Confucius 孔子 said that the basis is the rectitude of the heart and the maximum good is to reach the Way. The maximum good is benevolence. Mencius 孟子 teaches the same. HÁN Fēizǐ 韓非子 and Yǐn Wénzǐ 尹文子 (p. 12) transmitted this teaching. Then Zhōu 周 taught the theory of qì 氣 (Jp. *ki*), and Zhāng 張 and the Chéng brothers 程子 unified and reconciled it. Later ZHŪ Xī 朱熹 said that this is the doctrine of "thing and reason" 事理 that was secretly propounded by the Chéng brothers. Lù Jiǔy-uān 陸象山 formed a school which places "benevolence and justice" 仁義 at the basis. Then came WÁNG Yángmíng 王陽明, who returned to the "heavenly principle" 天理 which says that the "heart is the principle" 心即理. Tetsujirō later refers to the teachings of Taoism (Lǎozǐ 老子, Zhuāngzǐ 莊子). And a last consideration is for the Buddha and for Mohammed. The result is that INOUE Tetsujirō finds that every one of these doctrines teaches that the purpose of human life is to attain happiness (pp. 21–24).

However, Tetsujirō states that philosophers consider that the universe is incomprehensible and it is difficult to explain what happiness is and how to reach it. Even though in many countries there have been great thinkers and men of religion who have attempted to clarify this question, they have not succeeded in telling us what is the *dōri* 道理 [principle of the Way], and some, such as Herbert SPENCER, have said that it is unknowable, and others such as John FISKE have tried to solve the question through the union of science and religion (pp. 25–40).

The second theme is Tetsujirō's presentation of his own solution through the acceptance of the doctrine of evolution which takes change as the tendency or as the natural order, which revolves around three aspects. These three aspects are: a) an ever greater mental, bodily, and moral perfection, b) the striving for happiness, and c) moral cultivation. These three assure the existence of the individual as survival of the fittest (pp. 41–54).

<sup>18</sup> From the preface of INOUE Tetsujirō. 『倫理新説』 [New theories of ethics] (see note 17).

And a third theme is that there is "something that can guide us." This guidance concerns the manner in which the individual adapts itself to the law, tendency, and trend of evolution which results in a world of competition, of survival, and which does not clearly show the best means towards the above-mentioned three aspects (pp. 55–57).

This was before INOUE Tetsujirō went to Europe, where he stayed for seven years. Upon his return he faced the newly established creed for the whole nation, which was the Imperial Rescript on Education of October 30, 1890. We will later examine his position after his return.

#### B. Inoue Enryō. *An Outline of Ethics* (1887)

Prior to the Imperial Rescript on Education, a theoretical organization of Japanese morality was needed. In *An Outline of Ethics* 『倫理通論』 INOUE Enryō argues that ethics (moral philosophy), variously translated as *dōtoku-gaku* 道德学, *dōgi-gaku* 道義学, *shūshin-gaku* 修身学, and so on, is the science that establishes the criterion of good and evil and the rules for our action on a rational basis.<sup>19</sup> This basis constitutes its difference from traditional Japanese and Confucian morality in general.

Ethics is a rational science insofar as it reflects on the various facts related to human action, taking into account the data provided by several sciences such as physics and psychology, and organizes them according to logic with a view to the normative aspect of human action.

There are "theoretical sciences" 理論学, which establish fixed rules upon reflection on facts; and "applied sciences" 実用学, which on the basis of those rules establish directives for the actions of human beings. Ethics, as a science that reflects on facts and establishes the essential rules, is theoretical; and insofar as it instructs human beings to act according to those rules it is an applied science. However, it is primarily an applied science (ch. 3).

As a theoretical science, ethics studies the activities of the "human mind" 人心: feelings, the will, and the intellect, through its having recourse to psychology (ch. 4). Although politics as an applied science also has recourse to psychology, it differs from ethics. In the times of Confucius and Mencius, these two sciences were still not separated (ch. 5).

<sup>19</sup> INOUE Enryō 井上門了. 『倫理通論』 [An outline of ethics] (Tokyo: 普及社, 1887). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed December 9, 2014.

In the West the same happened in Christianity, in which the ultimate basis of morality was God and the priests of the Christian churches wielded immense power (ch. 6). Apart from being linked to psychology, politics, and religion, ethics is also closely related to metaphysics, sociology, anthropology, etc. (ch. 7). But ethics is not an experimental science and differs from other sciences in its specific field and in its teleology (ch. 8). Such science needs to be developed in Japan in order to reform its present-day morality (ch. 20–22).

Teleology in ethics means that human life has various goals (ch. 24–26). There is discussion on whether any one of those goals can be univocally fixed forever (ch. 27), as there are aspects such as unhappiness and happiness (ch. 28–29), egoism and altruism (ch. 30) to be considered. And even if happiness is taken as the goal, there is discussion as to whether happiness evolves (ch. 31–39). Although not everybody does, many people accept happiness as the criterion of action (ch. 40).

Enryō touches on the specific field of ethics: the criterion of good and evil. He says that there is much discussion on whether there is such a criterion, the forms under which it exists (ch. 42–43), and whether it is low or high in relation to human needs (ch. 44). Enryō mentions the several criteria that could be seen at the time of his writing. In Christianity this criterion is the will of God (ch. 45); in politics it is the will of the sovereign (ch. 46). Apart from these two, there is also a discussion on whether reason is the criterion (ch. 47); whether it is our instinct as known through intuition (ch. 48); whether one's own profit is the criterion (ch. 49), or that which constitutes real profit (ch. 50). From the consideration of these six options, Enryō concludes that we need to distinguish the result from the cause (ch. 51). The justification for the criterion must be carefully examined: whether it is internal or external to human beings, the manner in which it originates, and why we choose one from among the six (ch. 52). A careful examination of the criterion of happiness in its several modes is needed (ch. 53–55).

He says there are two further points to be considered here: how from the criterion chosen we derive the rules of ethics (ch. 56); and the kinds of rewards and punishments to be considered in ethics (ch. 57).

In the conclusion Enryō tells us that as there is good and evil in human action, a standard of judgment is needed, which is established through a consideration of the ends of human life, such as happiness. But scholars have established several sources of the moral criterion: a) a divine standard; b) a standard set by the ruler; c) a criterion derived from reason; d) a criterion derived from a moral ideal; e) a criterion derived from individual benefit; and f) a criterion derived from the general benefit. Thus the

first two originate from the external world, the third and fourth come from the internal world, and the last two derive from the experience of both worlds. When they are compared it can be seen that the first is derived from thought, the second from "commodity" 便宜, the third and fourth result from rationally inferred causes, and the last two are derived from experience. Enryō says that as the sixth standard takes into consideration the happiness of the greatest number and is in constant evolution, he is inclined towards this criterion (ch. 58).

The second part of the book, which covers chapters 59 to 75, goes into the consideration of the "moral spirit" 道德心, which sees the good as good and the evil as evil. But before this moral spirit is examined, there is the problem of "conscience" 良心. One theory is that it is a natural endowment which is not the result of previous experience, and another theory says that it is the result of education and experience. A third theory tries to unify the other two and says that it is the result of hereditary experience throughout time, although it accords more with the first. Enryō discusses these three possibilities at length and links the third to evolution in morality (ch. 59–75).

The second volume comprises sections 5 to 9. The fifth section of the book is devoted to the evolution of action. Enryō first studies the purpose of behavior and its evolution (ch. 77–78): whether it is for self-preservation, for the benefit of others or altruism, and their origin and relationship to pleasure and pain (ch. 79–84). Then he takes up the role of emotion in ethics (ch. 85–86), and the origin of mercy, of selflessness (as in John FISKE), humility, right and wrong, and conscience (ch. 87–92).

The sixth section is the second part of the evolution of action. Enryō first studies several norms arising from evolution (ch. 93–96) and then treats the evolution of material things, of humanity, of society, of the mind, and of total morality (ch. 97–101). In this manner, evolution comes to be the general law for all things and morality relies on the results of evolution (ch. 102–103). The last two chapters before the conclusion (ch. 106), treat the future and the apex of evolution (ch. 104–105).

The seventh and eighth sections present several divergent views of thinkers through the ages. First he presents the theories of Buddha (ch. 108), Confucius, Mencius, Lǎozǐ 老子, Zhuāngzǐ 莊子, Mòzǐ 墨子 and Xúnzǐ 荀子, Sòng Confucianism 宋儒 and of other thinkers (ch. 109–113). Then he presents the theories of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Epicurus, and other ancient thinkers (ch. 114–119). These are followed by the English moralists Thomas HOBBS, Richard CUMBERLAND, Ralph CUDWORTH and Samuel CLARK, John LOCKE, Joseph BUTLER, Francis HUTCHESON, Bernard MANDEVILLE, David HUME, Richard PRICE, Adam SMITH, Thomas REID (ch. 120–130). Other thinkers such as Immanuel KANT, Johann G. FICHTE, Friedrich W. J.

SCHELLING and Georg W. F. HEGEL, William PALEY, Jeremy BENTHAM, James MACKINTOSH (ch. 131–136) are also presented. The last part of the eighth section is devoted to Victor COUSIN, Auguste COMTE, William WHEWELL, John S. MILL, and Herbert SPENCER (ch. 137–141).

In the ninth section Enryō makes a classification of the ethical theories: the goal of morals (ch. 144); intuitionism and hedonism, as double classification of ethics (ch. 145–147), the two theories that deal with the "heart" 本心 of morals: natural endowment and experientialism (ch. 148). Then he presents a monistic classification and a pluralistic one from the viewpoints of psychology (ch. 149) and philosophy (ch. 150). He goes on to deal with the relationship between God, matter, and the human heart; and this same relationship from the viewpoint of the several psychological theories (ch. 151–153).

The last two chapters of this section are the concluding part: one is a general conclusion of ethics, in which he mentions Eastern and Western ethics as a rational product, which is why he does not call them morals, because morals originate in the practice of the people and no longer serve their original purpose (ch. 154); and the other chapter presents problems which surpass ethics, such as what constitutes happiness, the relationship between matter and mind, and the criterion of good and evil, which have to be approached from the viewpoint of pure philosophy (metaphysics) (ch. 154–155).

#### IV. Some Explanations of the Imperial Rescript on Education

The three preceding sections give a general view of materials related to moral education (*shūshin*) that introduce us to the treatment of the Imperial Rescript on Education at a time in which there were as yet no officially established guidelines for its interpretation as the basis of moral cultivation or moral education at all pre-university levels. As we will see in the following discussion, there was at the time some latitude for a variety of emphases in the published *shūshin* texts designed for the secondary school level.

##### A. Higashikuze Michitomi. *Education of Japan* (1890)

HIGASHIKUZE Michitomi 東久世通禧 (1834–1912), who was vice-president of the House of Peers at the time of the publication of the Imperial Rescript on Education (October

1890), published in November 1890 a book titled *Education of Japan* 『日本教育』,<sup>20</sup> which we can consider among the first published commentaries on the Rescript. In the introduction he writes about the basis of education and says that the Rescript is based on the fundamental aspects of the history of the country, through which the basis of education is clarified (p. 1). He also points out several educational problems of the time, some deriving from the introduction of foreign theories of education, and others deriving from the management and organization of the educational system, even though the efforts of the authorities are recognized (pp. 3–5). The origin of these problems was the lack of a clear idea of the foundations of Japanese education that should take into account the origin and peculiar characteristics of Japanese culture upon which it should rest. Against the background of the contents of the Rescript, and in some measure as its interpreter, Higashikuze states that there are four main elements at the basis of Japanese education. These elements are the historical, the geographical, the "moral" 倫理, and the political as the mission of the State (pp. 6–9).

The historical element considers the several eras and their basic characteristics showing the continuity in the fundamental spirit, and also points out the need for the cultivation of patriotism through the study of the essence of national history (pp. 10–26).

The geographical element is important because without it there is no State or history. It refers to the intimate relationship between nature and human beings, which should be one, the fundamentals in cultural knowledge comprising the change in the environment, and the care that should be taken of the environment (pp. 27–50).

The moral element comprises the peculiar moral attitude of the Japanese, the *Yamato damashii* 大和魂, the immortality of the spirit, the source of the Japanese spirit, and the modalities of its ideality; and against the two perils of materialism and idealism, three aspects (the change in moral theories, the requirements and duties of educators, and the cultivation of the moral spirit) are emphasized as crucial for the preservation of Japanese morality (pp. 51–64).

The politics of education refers to the changes in civilization, the mission of the State, the construction of a benevolent, courageous, and just country, and the character of the people, the meaning of a moral State, and the importance of the education of the people (pp. 65–80).

<sup>20</sup> HIGASHIKUZE Michitomi 東久世通禧. 『日本教育』 [Education of Japan] (Tokyo: 国光社, 1890). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed December 3, 2014.



In the Conclusion, Higashikuze writes on the directives for the future development of education, the importance of the values of truth, the good, and the beautiful, and on the problems facing the reform of education (pp. 81–82).

At the end of the book there is an Appendix written by three authors. KATSU Kaishū 勝海舟 (1823–1899) on "The Basis of Scholarship" 「学問の基礎」; Higashikuze on the meaning of civilization; and SOEJIMA Taneomi 副島種臣 (1828–1905) on "Japanese History as a Moral Text" 「日本歴史は道德の経典なり」. The book ends with a chapter on the *Kokutai* [National Entity] titled "Wrong Views on the *Kokutai*" 「国体に関する謬想」.

Although Higashikuze himself does not say that his is an interpretation of the Rescript, his final resume of the four elements of the basis of education points in this direction. He writes:

The historical basis must be the warp and the geographical basis the woof of our education; the moral basis must be that which causes our education to live, [and to induce] belief and practice. To show the direction education should follow is the basis marked by the mission of the State. In this manner, it must be said that for the first time the gist of our education is firmly established. (p. 81)

Higashikuze adds that education should not overlook that "Our history is true history. Our territory is a beautiful territory. Our ethics are good ethics. Having been endowed with truth, beauty and goodness, to practice them is the special character of benevolence and justice," so that this should be the spirit of Japanese education (pp. 81–82).

In this sense Higashikuze's book can be taken as one of the first interpretations of the Imperial Rescript on Education, as it was published a few months after the latter's proclamation. We may say that although the historical and the geographical elements are similar in both authors, it would be appropriate to say that Higashikuze's approach to the interpretation of the Rescript differs from INOUE Enryō's, as we will see later on.

#### B. Inoue Tetsujirō. *The Deep Meaning of the Rescript* (1891)

In the preface to his book *The Deep Meaning of the Rescript* 『勅語衍義』, INOUE Tetsujirō says that the purpose of the Rescript is to strengthen the nation through the virtues of filial piety, fraternal love, loyalty and fidelity, and preparedness for emergencies through nurturing collective patriotism, and to place these at the basis of the people's education. These are virtues that cannot be absent in the Japanese State, even

for a day, as other countries cannot but be seen as enemies. The forty million fellow countrymen, in their turn, have unified their hearts in order to practice the Way of Loyalty and Filial Piety, for the strength of a nation mainly depends on the union of the hearts of its people. He states that "This is the main idea of the Imperial Rescript."<sup>21</sup>

He goes on to say that, even though since olden times, oriental sages have stated that such virtues should be practiced, there was no clear explanation of why this should be so. Nowadays there is an urgent need for such practice due to the sudden changes in modern society (pp. 4–5). The people should understand the meaning of filial piety, respect for their elders, loyalty and fidelity towards the sovereign, trust among friends, and the promotion of the well-being of the State. This is why a directive concerning the goals of education was needed, so that all the people will have these virtues clearly in mind (p. 6). In this manner, a truly rich and strong nation will be constructed and an improvement of the spirit of the people will result in a moral world in which a mutual relationship among human beings will be established through those virtues. This is why it is important that they are included in the education of the people (pp. 7–8).

Tetsujirō explains the Imperial Rescript on Education, dividing the text into the following twenty-one sections, which I have numbered:

1. 「朕惟フニ我カ皇祖皇宗國ヲ肇ムルコト宏遠ニ徳ヲ樹ツルコト深厚ナリ」 (Vol. I, p. 1). Starting from the oracle of the celestial ancestor Amaterasu-ōmikami 天照大御神, there was a succession of descended gods. Emperor Jimmu 神武天皇 (the last of the Imperial Ancestors 皇祖) unified the four seas and ruled over the people, thus establishing the Empire of great Japan that has continued under Imperial rulers for more than 2,550 years. As the country was built on the basis of great virtue it has been secure and prosperous.
2. 「我カ臣民克ク忠ニ克ク孝ニ」 (p. 2). Since antiquity there have been many loyal subjects who have given their own lives in order to protect the Imperial Household. There are subjects who since the foundation of the country have been loyal and who have had a deep respect for the Ancestors. There were such subjects as FUJIWARA no Kamatari 藤原鎌足, KITABATAKE Chikafusa 北畠親房, and KUSUNOKI Masashige 楠正成.

21 INOUE Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎, 『勅語衍義』 [The deep meaning of the Rescript], 2 vols. (Tokyo: 敬業社 and 哲眼社, 1891). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed August 1, 2015. As EJIMA Ken'ichi 江島顕一 says, this text was used both in secondary schools and at the teachers' schools. See 「明治期における井上哲次郎の『国民道德論』の形成過程に関する一考察：『勅語衍義』を中心として」 [An observation about the emergence of Inoue Tetsujirō's 'Treatise on civil morality' during the Meiji period: With focus on 'The deep meaning of the Rescript'] 『慶応義塾大学大学院社会学研究科紀要：社会学心理学教育学』 [Bulletin of the Research Department of Sociology of Keiō Gijuku University: Sociology, psychology, pedagogy] 67 (2009): 15–29, <http://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp>. Accessed July 31, 2015.

3. 「億兆心ヲ一ニシテ世世厥ノ美ヲ濟セルハ」 (p. 5). All the people united as one body obey the orders of the Emperor. Since the people have been united as one in keeping the laws, the country has been strong. There is a great difference between Japan and other countries such as Italy and Germany, which became united only after a long time.
4. 「此レ我カ國體ノ精華ニシテ教育ノ淵源亦實ニ此ニ存ス」 (p. 7). The country began with the Ancestors and the Imperial lineage that established it with great virtue, and the subjects with obedient hearts have followed the Path of Loyalty and Filial Piety. This is the glory of our country because the subjects, with grateful hearts, do not forget the favor and blessings of the Ancestors. This is why our country surpasses other oriental countries. And this has become the foundation of the education of the people, which comprises its history, its customs, and its character. So it is appropriate for our country to have its own education law for its people.
5. 「爾臣民父母ニ孝ニ」 (p. 10). Each country is a great family and its sovereign orders and guides the people, just as parents kindly order and guide their children. This is why the subjects respond with special affection whenever the sovereign calls them like a strict father or a loving mother. This is a sentiment that flows naturally from their flesh and bones. This is why education is also important at the national level for the benefit of society, just as cultivation is also important within the family as there is knowledge that is transmitted from generation to generation.
6. 「兄弟ニ友ニ」 (p. 18). After spouses and parent–children relationships, there are also sibling relationships among brothers and sisters, who are like branches and leaves. Love and respect among brothers and sisters result in mutual help and support for their aging parents. As the ages of siblings differ, and their knowledge and experience also differ, they should help each other in their growth and advancement. Each family is like a cell of an organism and a basis for the country. This is why brothers and sisters should always be conscious of the fact that they have a great duty towards the State, and should mutually help and protect one another.
7. 「夫婦相和シ」 (p. 22). With the spouses begins a family which can be the foundation of a nation. This is why whoever desires to control a nation devises means to keep the family harmonious and at ease. In order to bring this about, the spouses should always mutually love, help, and protect each other. Faithfulness and sincerity will bring about happiness to the family. However, this cannot be achieved if there is no freedom to choose one's own partner. Parents should not decide beforehand the future mode of life, occupation, or marriage partner of their children, and once they grow up, they should be consulted concerning their own expectations and be admonished when these are not

adequate. Marriage partners should not be chosen in view of their property, fame, or a passing infatuation. The future husband should choose a pleasant-looking, sturdy, gentle, and obedient woman; and the woman should choose a healthy, serious, faithful, and industrious marriage partner of good character. Once they become a family, the husband goes out to work while the wife remains at home keeping house, and in this manner they help each other, and jointly advance and develop. If there are children, they can look after them with loving care, encourage them to pursue studies, acquire skills, and choose occupations that result in the benefit of the State.

8. 「朋友相信シ」 (p. 28). No one can realize anything by himself and in isolation. In case of illness or an accident, we need the help of others who are close to us and share our feelings as friends or relatives. Recently our society has changed and we feel a stronger need for friendship. If we do not have friends, even while we are in our own country we will feel lonesome as if we were in a foreign country. This is why it is important to choose good and faithful friends who encourage us towards the good and whom we can trust, who have similar attitudes and points of view, and whose strong points influence us. For they are part of ourselves that live outside our bodies, and we also are part of them and even though our bodies differ our hearts are one.

9. 「恭儉己レヲ持シ」 (p. 32). To behave respectfully and modestly is a social virtue because it is the basis of social order. Modesty means restricting our actions and also limiting the use of our possessions. Modest and respectful behavior brings about good order so that correct social organization and appropriate relations can be established and our duties towards the *Kokutai* can be carried out. Whenever there is action, there is reaction, not only on the physical plane but also in the psychological and mental planes. When we respect the social place of others our own standing will be higher. However, the manner in which this is accomplished changes with the times. This means that respectful forms and behavior change with the social habits and customs of each age. Those who conduct themselves respectfully should not bear grudges against other people or misbehave in such a way that harm and evil result from their actions. If we misinterpret modesty and respect and do not maintain a proper and independent attitude, this is shameful and simply curtails our rights and freedom so that we do not respond appropriately to others. In short, we should lead a just life, should not injure others and should help maintain a moral society. In this way we will also strengthen the State. Tetsujirō ends the first volume with the admonition that it is part of the duties of teachers to explain these matters to their students.

10. 「博愛衆ニ及ホシ」 (ol. 2, p. 1). If we do not extend our love to other people, they in turn will not love us, so that egoism does not benefit us. We should endeavor to do things for others. In this manner, something like a wave of benefits will accrue to the whole of society. With an honest and sincere heart we should extend our love and care not only to the sovereign, our parents, our elders, and natural things, but also to people unknown to us whom we happen to meet occasionally on the street. This does not mean that we should abandon our own family or country and give preference to others, but that we should adhere to the proper procedures and fulfill our duties even while we look after the well-being of foreigners. This means that our primary duties should be towards our own sovereign, country, and our family. Keeping in mind the security of the State we should look towards its stable growth, we should receive adequate education, polishing our talents, and developing our knowledge, keeping in mind that we thereby receive a great favor which surpasses all others and should requite it. Our love should extend to our family members and the State, but if needed we should also be ready to give up our life for the State. When we host people from foreign countries we should treat them well, for this will be praised as a beautiful and virtuous point of our people. At all times we should meet other people with a kind heart, and cultivate a patriotic spirit when meeting foreigners.

11. 「學ヲ修メ業ヲ習ヒ以テ智能ヲ啓發シ」 (p. 6). An increase in knowledge elevates our worth and dignity: knowledge is a requirement in our world and we need to attend school in order to understand the "right way of dealing with things" 物の道理. This is why we should daily increase our knowledge in order to act correctly in the world of visible forms and, as we do not know about invisible things, we should advance in knowledge in order to penetrate the higher regions of our heart and understand spiritual phenomena. This means we invest in time and should not waste it or make others waste theirs. Time passes and does not return, and every day we have new experiences. Therefore we cannot fail to think about some advancement in our work and duties. This is so for every month and every year of our lives. Just as the higher we climb a mountain the wider the horizon we can admire, so also we need to start our studies from early infancy and continue throughout our lives. Even though not everyone can be a scholar, in the first half of our life we should both study and learn a trade in order to profit both family and country. Even if we complete our studies, if we do not know how to apply them everything will be in vain. This is why we should understand the trend of our times and make an effort to be profitable to our society. This is especially needed in our dealings with foreign countries. So that we do not lose in competition,

we need to polish our knowledge, bring out our talents, be aware of the conditions in which we find ourselves, and apply our greatest effort in all our endeavors. As the level of education of the people can be a measure of the culture of a country, we should not disregard intellectual education and various kinds of schools should be set up for the education of boys and girls. Parents should have their children attend school for this is a duty vis-à-vis the State. Science and technology are the foundation of Western cultures, from which derive all their visible things, such as electricity, trains, and steamships. This should also be the basis for the development of our country and we should make science and technology part of our own spirit. Many scholars say that our people have the ability to copy but lack creativity, but this is not so and Japan should not lag in its own development. At this time research into our history, literature, and so on should not be lacking or be discarded when we study Western learning. We must say that the learning of our country is the basis for the education of the people. But rather than just Western fine arts, the fine arts of our country should also be promoted, not just as commercial goods but as a means of elevating the well-being of the people.

12. 「徳器ヲ成就シ」 (p. 13). It is the duty of every subject to study, to learn a trade, to develop his or her own talents and virtue so as to become a beneficial member of society, while cultivating at the same time their own endowments. If we desire to develop our virtue, we must cultivate our conscience so that we can live our daily lives according to it, otherwise we will accumulate evil deeds in our heart and this will lead us to abandon virtue. This is easier said than done, because demons come and through many ruses try to lead us into committing evil actions, so this should be fought against with all our might. Soldiers need courage to view their own lives as chaff when they see the enemy advancing in the battle field. And it is the same situation in the world of morals, where courage should be exercised in order to win against our desires, even if our body is destroyed. The well-being of the people depends on the cultivation of virtue. We are not perfect and cannot avoid making mistakes. If we say evil things about others, they in turn will say evil things about us; and this is especially the case for people important to the State. However, everyone who repents and mends his errors becomes a good person.

13. 「進テ公益ヲ廣メ世務ヲ開キ」 (p. 19). We should not calculate only our own profit, because there are things that are unprofitable for ourselves but good for the public. In this case we should abandon our self and consider the public benefit: trying to be altruistic we should exalt virtue. This can be done only by virtuous people with high goals. Everyone should carry out his/her own duty to the limits of his/her strength for the

good of society or of the State, looking only for the public good. Scholars search for the truth exerting themselves for the good of society in general and for the advancement of scholarship so that knowledge in our country develops. This is their duty towards their home country, so they set the advancement of the public good as the goal of their lives. Such things cannot be possible if everybody just looks after his own benefit and in this case the State cannot last for long. This is why we are enjoined to study, to learn a trade, and to acquire virtue both for our private good and for the social good. What we most need is endurance so that we can continue our own task and be of service to the State. The members of a society should share their feelings both through language and action, and not enjoy everything by themselves. They should not utter falsehoods or deceive others because they will lose the trust of others and will bring harm to society. In sum, all our actions should be directed to the tranquility and happiness of others and not only to our own private profit. However, by simply carrying out our public duties we have not fulfilled all our duties towards the State. Just through staying at home and behaving morally we still have not participated in the spread of virtue, nor contributed to the public good. If our study or our knowledge does not answer to the needs of society, it has no value. Although something like the theoretical part of the sciences is not directly applicable to society, it is very important because it can lead to new discoveries. Our highest aspirations in life should be to carry out great works and thus contribute to the advancement of society and the promotion of culture.

14. 「常ニ國憲ヲ重シ國法ニ遵ヒ」 (p. 27). Our present constitution was promulgated in February, 1889. It meant a change from an authoritarian regime to a constitutional government which is carried out by both the nobles and the people through public discussion in a spirit of freedom within the country. This is something unique to our country that does not happen in any other country in Asia and should be counted as a great merit of our people. The Constitution clarifies the authority of the "ruler" 統治者, establishes the manner in which the subjects can participate in matters of State, and protects the rights of the people relative to their bodies, livelihoods, property, good name, and so on, so that peace and order may prevail in the State and happiness is promoted. Rights are included within justice and should be preserved. As the Constitution of a country marks the rights of the people, it is the basic law, and even if it does not grant equality to all, it originates from the practice of justice. If some people have rights and others do not, those who do not have rights will not be able to develop their intelligence and talents. They will not be able to attain their aspirations and it will be difficult for them to carry out their duties towards the State. In contrast, if all the people have

equal rights, each will apply his knowledge and talents as a member of society, so that the country will be strengthened and the benefits will be extended to all the people. The Constitution establishes the relationship between the subjects and the State, and the relationship of the subjects among themselves. It protects public and private rights and controls the community. The laws, together with morality, maintain order within the country so that society is not endangered by the actions of the people. In general it can be said that while the law controls outward conduct, morality controls the inner world, and in another sense, the laws constitute a part of morality. However, when an action damages the tranquility of the country, apart from its moral condemnation there is a severe judgment and penalty for a forbidden action. Furthermore, whenever a relative or an old acquaintance suffers some unexpected calamity, accident, or adverse happening, such as the destruction of property or the sacrifice of a life, both the law and morality provide for succor and protection. As morality changes with the advance of society, some things and actions that were desirable in the past are no longer appreciated and should be avoided. These are ruled by morality and the laws, and they define our actions.

15. 「一旦緩急アレハ義勇公ニ奉シ」 (p. 34). Morality is not restricted to our own correct conduct and to not damaging others. It also requires that we pursue our occupations for the benefit of everybody. This means that morality is not hereby exhausted, because it also requires that, if the peace and security of the country are endangered, we should attend to it, even at the cost of our lives: this is true courage in the pursuit of justice. If the people are courageous and strong, they are valuable, and through their participation the State will be saved from any dangerous situation. What everyone should be taught is patriotism, to abandon his private interests and with love for his country show concern for the State. The country will be strong when there are many patriots. Patriotism should really be called the "vitality" 元氣 of the country. Whenever patriots are derided, that is the beginning of the decay of the State. But if patriots frequently occasion great disorder that brings about extreme losses, they should be admonished. The State is like an organism in that it has life, grows, develops, and becomes old. The State should always be nourished so that it can continue and the people should not diminish its powers. Those who live within the country have mutual relationships, and the interests of each are the interests of the State because their influence is felt by all the people in general. But those who lack a patriotic spirit, break the laws, and do not carry out their moral duties cannot avoid being stigmatized by the people. Organized people have not only mutual legal rights and duties but also moral rights and duties, so



they can safely eat, grow, study, and have businesses; they receive the benefits of the system, and must requite the favor to the State. Furthermore, it is our great duty to maintain the national territory we received from our ancestors and to leave it to our descendants. Whenever there is something that prevents its safety we have the duty to eliminate it with great force. This is why, whenever there is a State emergency, we have the duty to offer our lives without looking back, for the preservation of our freedom, the independence of the State, whenever it is attacked by another country so that it can prevent being conquered. In the case of a State emergency, one death is of more value than a hundred lives. So whenever there is a conscription ordinance, people should respond to it, never evading or fleeing from it, and all males should offer their lives for the well-being of the State, because there is no greater pleasure than to die for the State.

16. 「以テ天壤無窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スヘシ」 (p. 39). Of themselves people have the tendency to constitute a society and to organize a State, and whenever they actually realize it, there necessarily will be someone who will rule over it. So there will be a "ruler" 君主 just as there is a head in each family. There is a tendency for this prerogative to be concentrated in just one person. All organized bodies, such as a company or a school have a director. They must have a presiding person who supervises and concentrates all powers. Just as the sun is the center of the solar system, so also is the sovereign of a country, who has the prerogative of ruling over innumerable subjects. When this does not happen, a country cannot be formed. As we can see in the case of republics and other forms of government, there is a sovereign or ruler, and it is difficult to realize complete equality. The difference between the ruler and the people originates from the organization of heaven and earth. Needless to say, the ruler intends the benefit of the people in general and the people must respect the ruler. The attainment of the safety of the life, property, good name, and beliefs of the people is due to the good rule of the sovereign, who has as one of his goals the promotion of the happiness of the subjects. In order to requite the favor of the ruler, the subjects must be loyal even at the cost of their lives, otherwise the ruler will not be able to attain his goals. If the subjects do not obey the sovereign this will diminish the unifying power of the country and will preclude the promotion of the well-being of the subjects. Not to obey the directives of the ruler results in the unhappiness of the people. Truly, obedience is a virtue of the people and without it order in society and the well-being of the State cannot be achieved. Freedom of the spirit and the virtue of obedience should be praised at the same time, not only for the continuity of the old customs and for their reform, but also

because without them there will be no antecedents or previous experience and the order of society will be disrupted. It is really an infinitely strong point for Japan, since the founding of the nation, to have the Ancestors and a reigning sovereign. Its subjects should cooperate in the security, defense, and maintenance of the *Kokutai* in order to secure the happiness of their own descendants. We should reflect on the fact that in Japanese culture throughout the ages there has been a continuity in the Imperial lineage and it is thanks to the Imperial Household 皇室 that throughout the ages all our ancestors have been ruled by the Emperors, and that our descendants also will receive their protection, for it is of the greatest importance that all of us subjects are mutually related through the Imperial Household. So we should make our greatest efforts for the State and the glory of the Imperial Household, just as in ancient times the Greeks prepared their bodies, their knowledge, and their virtue for their service to the State.

17. 「是ノ如キハ獨リ朕カ忠良ノ臣民タルノミナラス」 (p. 45). All subjects of a country should be careful to carry out their duties as faithful and good subjects, for otherwise the foundations of the country will erode. When each subject fulfills his/her duties the foundations of the country are strengthened, the ruler will be secure and thus our bodies, livelihoods, property, and happiness will also be promoted. Whenever there is just one sovereign who rules, one law that is respected, and one organized body of subjects who encourage one another to be loyal, there will not be disloyalty or improper conduct. The subjects must not trespass their own social standing and in the name of loyalty recognizing only their own viewpoints disregard the laws. At the same time, if they condemn and kill the trespassers, their own actions will be evil.

18. 「又以テ爾祖先ノ遺風ヲ顯彰スルニ足ラン」 (p. 47). Since antiquity in our country there have been many cases of loyalty, filial piety, and fidelity that endure for posterity. Their descendants should also continue this fidelity and become models for later generations, because antiquity and posterity are not discontinuous and what was unique at the times of our ancestors has become a "national characteristic flowering" 国粹 that should not be lost and should be transmitted to later generations. Our country stands on a par with other countries, some of which have direct relations with us, and just as they suffer decay or flourish, so also our country changes according to the conditions of the times, and must appropriate from other countries their strong points in order to advance and progress through the correction of its weak points. So it cannot fail to have a spirit of progress while sustaining the same spirit of fidelity that characterized our ancestors. Just as our country is rich in mountains and rivers as a result of the workings of heaven, earth, and nature, so also the loyalty and simplicity of heart of its subjects,

which has not been lost and has been transmitted for generations, is something that excels among the nations of the East.

19. 「斯ノ道ハ實ニ我カ皇祖皇宗ノ遺訓ニシテ子孫臣民ノ俱ニ遵守スヘキ所」 (p. 49). The teachings of the "morality" 彝倫 (*irin*) of loyalty and filial piety are a Way that is always to be followed by the subjects, and it has been established by the Ancestors of the Imperial Household. The custom of respect for the ancestors has been transmitted to us from ancient times. Reverence towards ancestors is part of the spirit of filial piety that has become a custom. This is also the case of the Ancestors of the Imperial Household towards which the subjects owe loyalty and feel a debt of gratitude that leads them to requite the Imperial favor. This is how the ideal of respect for the Ancestors of our ruler has come about. The teaching of the morals of loyalty and filial piety has been transmitted since ancient times in our country and can be discovered within the customs of the people. Even though the peoples of other countries have also the same teaching, in our country it has been practiced from ancient times even up to our days. This teaching is something that should be transmitted also to our descendants.

20. 「之ヲ古今ニ通シテ謬ラス之ヲ中外ニ施シテ悖ラス」 (p. 51). The teachings of the ancients that have been transmitted to us, such as loyalty and filial piety towards the ancestors of the sovereign, friendly behavior towards our brothers and sisters, harmonious relationships between spouses, and mutual trust among friends, belong to our identity and should not be easily changed. This ordinary morality that has endured for thousands of years remains unchanged. However, with cultural change and the changes in social manners and customs, there could be a change in the method of practicing it. Even so, the original spirit must remain the same. The right or wrong of something should not be judged on the basis of its age, be it new or old. The morality of loyalty and filial piety towards the Ancestors of our ruler should not change, as it is a fitting custom that comes from antiquity and is needed as a "basis for nationhood" 立国, and it would be a great mistake to abandon it because of its antiquity. In all countries the teachings of moral intercourse have been necessary for the establishment of society. This means that in all countries there is a morality that commends filial piety, obedience, loyalty, and fidelity, and this is not peculiar to our country. After the Meiji Restoration, in which Western sciences and technology have been introduced into our country, many people have abandoned the old customs and have fought for novelties, considering the morality of loyalty and filial piety as something outmoded and "contemptible" 輕侮. Even though before the Restoration education and knowledge was insufficient, morality surpassed that of nowadays, and even though education and knowledge have

advanced, morality in contrast has deteriorated. Notwithstanding the advance of science and technology, there are things that should not change. If this is ignored, it will be the occasion for many erroneous ways.

21. 「朕爾臣民ト俱ニ拳々服膺シテ咸其徳ヲ一ニセンコトヲ庶幾フ」 (p. 53). Whenever people wish to accomplish their actions they necessarily construct a kind of high ideal, and proceed according to this ideal. If this is so and they hold this ideal before their eyes, the people will be able to work hard in unison and accomplish their task. The people need to take progress as their objective in order to enter the region of high culture. Nowadays it is a moral duty for each one to offer himself courageously to the *Ōyake*; this means that it is a moral rule which the cultural enlightenment of our nationals must reach and which should be called the ideal of the nation. The reigning Emperor, on the basis of the teachings of the Ancestors leads the millions of subjects and desires that they should cultivate this morality as the ideal to which they should aspire, as it is a model which expounds a great filial piety; thus it is something towards which all our compatriots should jointly strive with tranquility and dedication.

C. Inoue Enryō. *Treatise on a Living Filial Piety and Loyalty* (1893)

We can think that perhaps when INOUE Enryō composed his *Treatise on a Living Filial Piety and Loyalty* 『忠孝活論』,<sup>22</sup> the source of his inspiration was the *Xiǎojīng*, or *Classic of Filial Piety* 『孝經』, in which loyalty and filial piety are considered as components of primary virtue: "Now filial piety is the root of [all] virtue, and [the stem] out of which grows [all moral] teaching. [...] It commences with the service of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; and it is completed by the establishment of the character."<sup>23</sup>

In his book *Treatise on a Living Loyalty and Filial Piety*, Enryō tries to give a metaphysical basis to loyalty and filial piety as two virtues which are also central to Buddhist morality. He says that "Buddhism gives importance to loyalty and filial piety and respects the moral order of the five relations" (p. 83).

22 INOUE Enryō 井上円了, 『忠孝活論』 [Treatise on a living filial piety and loyalty] (Tokyo: 哲学書院, 1893). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed July 31, 2015.

23 *Xiàojīng* 『孝經』 [Classic of filial piety], trans. by James LEGGE. *The Hsiao King, Or Classic of Filial Piety* (Blackmask Online, 2001), p. 10. Scan [www.blackmask.com](http://www.blackmask.com). Accessed February 17, 2015. The text reads: 「夫孝徳之本也、教之所由生也 [...] 夫孝始於親、中於事君、終於立身」. 『漢籍国字解全書』 [Collected Chinese writings explained in national script] (Waseda University, 1937), vol. 1, pp. 3–5.

Enryō's approach at this time is from the point of view of evolution. At the time, evolution had many followers in Japan, and KATŌ Hiroyuki 加藤弘之 was the thinker primarily responsible for the introduction of social Darwinism into Japan."<sup>24</sup> However, Enryō interprets evolution as a metaphysical theory that explains the present from a cosmological point of view.

Enryō starts from the "beginnings of heaven and earth" 開闢論 (*kaibyaku-ron*) and goes on to explain the "theory of evolution" 開元論. Having provided a foundation, he then deals with the divinity, body and mind, the human species, the many things in the world, and the *Kokutai*, and finally he presents his interpretation of filial piety.

He says that "the Way of Loyalty and Filial Piety is the ordinary way of the human being as an individual and in society it gives importance also to compassion and duty, but that there are States that give greater importance to loyalty and filial piety, sometimes according more importance to the one or to the other" (p. 1). This varies with each country and epoch, starting from their history of the beginning of the world, the environment, and the customs of their inhabitants, and cannot theoretically be considered as being all in the same situation. For example, even though loyalty and filial piety are present in Japan and in Christianity, they are different virtues and can be specified as follows (pp. 2–3):

In Japan	In Christianity
living	dead things
sacred	not sacred
spiritual	spiritual
a matter of duty	a matter of convenience
internal to our heart	external to our heart

The reason is that in Christianity only man is a sacred creature and both the sovereign and his subjects are servants of God and as a religious obligation in ethical relations the sovereign and the father are the most important or, not being so, both the sovereign and his subjects are placed under different circumstances in which they are temporarily such; and both father and mother are also temporarily such and both are servants of God. This is why their relationship cannot be absolute but merely temporary and provisional (p. 4).

In the case of Japan these virtues originate on the basis of their being connected with the Imperial Household, and conform with the *Kokutai*: this is why the Japanese

<sup>24</sup> REITAN. *Making a Moral Society* (see note 8), p. 59.

race offers itself to the Imperial Household and protects the *Kokutai*: these virtues are born from the spirit, from duty and, therefore, are living virtues which cannot be absent even for a day, as they constitute a Way (p. 5). There is also a great difference between Japanese and Chinese loyalty and filial piety. Since the histories, social systems of education, and doctrines of China and Japan differ, their moralities are also different (p. 6).

In regard to the stories of the beginnings of heaven and earth of the different cultures, there are two main theories: the theory of creation as in Christianity, and the "theory of evolution" 開発論 in its different forms: in the inspiring teachings of Charles DARWIN or John F. W. HERSCHEL (pp. 7–17),<sup>25</sup> or in the development of the Primal Energy 元氣 from the Great Pole 太極 in China, or in the development from Brahma in India, or in the theories of the development in Buddhist Hinayana and Mahayana (pp. 18–19). In the case of Japan the same theory can be seen in the *Chronicles of Japan* 『日本書紀』:

Of old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the In and Yō not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an egg which was of obscurely defined limits and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly drawn out, and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth. [Therefore Heaven was formed first and the Earth later.] The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished subsequently. Thereafter Divine Beings were produced between them [...] At this time a certain thing was produced between Heaven and Earth. It was in form like a reed-shoot. (p. 19)<sup>26</sup>

Enryō quotes some of the several parallel passages from the *Chronicles of Japan* related to the beginning of heaven and earth, which he interprets as a Japanese theory of evolution (p. 20). Thus, while in China Confucianism calls it the Great Pole, Taoism the Great Void or the Nameless, Buddhism calls it the Void or the Heart, in Japan it is called Chaos or Egg-like from which everything is manifested and develops." Therefore, in the East and especially in Japan in the story of the beginning of heaven and earth there is a theory of evolution (p. 21).

25 John F. W. HERSCHEL. *A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy* (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1831). Scan <http://babel.hathitrust.org>. Accessed February 20, 2016. HERSCHEL later, in his *Physical Geography* (1861), criticized Charles DARWIN'S view of evolution on two counts: its lack of a teleology and of a solid factual basis. Toni V. CAREY. "John Herschel," [https://philosophynow.org/issues/48/John\\_Herschel](https://philosophynow.org/issues/48/John_Herschel). Accessed February 20, 2016.

26 W. G. ASTON. *Nihongi, Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to A.D. 697* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1896), p. 2. Scan [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org). Accessed February 16, 2015.

And so, in the case of Japan, loyalty and filial piety have a theory of evolution as their basis: morality flows from a heart "full of sincerity and justice" 至誠政真 and this heart, as in Confucianism, is called "conscience" 良心, which coincides with the divinity, so it is a spiritual morality (pp. 24).

So it can be said that "the heart of our race is provided with a divine spirit and that the divine spirit that comes forth from the Imperial Household, is reflected both above and below, and is a mutual feeling [called] Pure Spirit". This is the origin of the loyalty and filial piety of the Japanese race (p. 67) and this is the reason it is alive, of itself flows from the hearts of the Japanese and has been the great basis of their human relations (p. 68). It is the Way of the Imperial Household, of one lineage for ten thousand generations, which naturally arises in them and which they embrace (p. 69). He adds that "the union of the Imperial Household and its subjects is One House [一家], and the Imperial Household hence our Head Family [*sōke* 宗家]." In this manner, "the *Kokutai* [which is] spiritually alive, is constituted through this superb Way which links them all" (p. 70). This is the fountainhead of the sincerity which leads the subjects "to lay down their lives for the sovereign and for the country" (p. 71). At the same time, the "*Kokutai* is constituted through the union brought about by the Pure Spirit whose most exalted manifestation is the Imperial Household" (p. 73). This union in the Pure Spirit inheres in the heart of each subject and the quintessence of the *Kokutai* springs from this union. And the mutual reflection of this union within the hearts of the subjects constitutes loyalty and filial piety. Needless to say, Enryō conceives the Imperial Household as the absolute "Subject" 主体 and the subjects as its "relative properties" 属体 (p. 73).

#### D. Inoue Enryō. *The Mysterious Meaning of the Rescript* (1902)

Enryō presents his interpretation in the booklet titled *The Mysterious Meaning of the Rescript* 『勅語玄義』, published in 1902.<sup>27</sup> He wrote this text because he considered that the popular understanding of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) was not sufficiently deep. He argues that the usual interpretation of the text is that the morality therein contained rests on the double principle of loyalty and filial piety. However, in order for Japanese morality to rest on a firm foundation, it should be *based on a single principle* and not on the double principle of Absolute Loyalty and relative filial piety.

27 INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 『勅語玄義』 [The mysterious meaning of the Rescript] (Tokyo: 哲学館, 1902). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed November 15, 2014.

This means that Enryō endeavors to identify the "fundamental meaning" 御本意 of the Rescript, in which "loyalty and filial piety constitute the basic morality" 忠孝為本の道德.

However, we should take into account that a double basis of morality is common in China, Korea, and other oriental countries where Confucianism is prevalent (p. 4). Even though many consider this double Way to be the peculiar basis of human relations, in Japan this is not so (p. 5). Enryō says "that from antiquity there is in our country a peculiar morality which has sustained the unique and peerless *Kokutai*" of Japan (p. 5). Through a number of quotations from ancient sources Enryō shows the existence of that peculiar morality (pp. 6–12). In this manner he arrives at the two principles of this peculiar morality.

Referring to the Mito scholar FUJITA Tōkō 藤田東湖, Enryō states that there are two kinds of principles: an ideal principle which is Absolute Loyalty (about which he wrote in *Treatise on a Living Filial Piety and Loyalty*) and a second principle which is "relative filial piety" (pp. 12–14). The peculiar Japanese morality results from the complete unity of "absolute loyalty" and "relative filial piety". This unity should be termed Absolute Filial Piety and is to be understood as mutual penetration of loyalty and filial piety (p. 14). This Absolute Filial Piety is due to the Imperial Household. Thus he says: Filial piety is the Way which nobles and people exercise before the Imperial Household" (p. 15). The reason is the following: Imperial Japan is a household and the Father is the Emperor, "who is for us a real father to whom we should render filial piety" (pp. 15–16). The mutual union of loyalty and filial piety can be called either Absolute Loyalty or Absolute Filial Piety. Depending on the reading of the Imperial Rescript on Education, there is a relative interpretation and an absolute interpretation.

The relative interpretation (pp. 16–20) considers the two above-mentioned virtues as separate. On the one hand there is filial piety, which is mainly concerned with one's own morality and morality towards the family. This relative interpretation of filial piety includes six virtues: Three are towards oneself: a) to conduct oneself with modesty; b) to cultivate learning and master a trade (job); and c) to develop the intellect and moral qualities. And three virtues to be practiced towards the family are: d) filial piety towards one's parents; e) friendship towards siblings (brothers and sisters); and f) harmony between spouses (pp. 17–20).

On the other hand, the relative interpretation of loyalty includes morality towards society and morality towards the *Ōyake*. Morality towards society includes: a) friendship and mutual trust; b) promoting universal love; c) promoting the public good and carrying out public duties. Morality towards the State includes: d) respecting the Con-



stitution; e) obeying the laws of the State; and f) offering oneself dutifully and valiantly to the *Ōyake* (p. 20).

This twofold relative interpretation is accepted as the ordinary interpretation. But behind it there is an absolute interpretation which (as he himself says) only Enryō proclaims (pp. 21–22). We will follow the eight points through which he presents his proposal. This will make it easier to understand his viewpoint and to appreciate the strength of his interpretation.

(1) Enryō says that the absolute interpretation can be expressed as Absolute Filial Piety and it is contained in the words: "contribute to carry out the work of the Imperial Household which is coeval with heaven and earth" (p. 23).

We should note that there is a characteristic process of interpretation that can be attributed perhaps to Enryō's Buddhist training but also to the philological aspect which goes back to the contents of the *Shōgaku* 『小学』 (Ch. *Xiǎoxué*) [Elementary learning] in the Confucian tradition of examination of words. We can see it in the manner in which Enryō arrives at the absolute interpretation of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

Enryō calls attention to the keyword *motte* 以て [and thus] which comes after the virtue for emergency times and connects with the injunction to "carry out the work of the Imperial Household." His argument is that, if loyalty, as a virtue for emergency times, is considered separately, then it still belongs to the relative interpretation: "If it is understood as meaning only in times of emergency, then it must become relative loyalty." But if all and each one of the words following "you our Imperial subjects" apply to *all times*, and not only to emergencies, then this is the meaning of Absolute Loyalty (p. 23).

The "and thus" 以て in the Rescript means that the virtues implied in the aspect of filial piety are to be united with loyalty, that is, the virtues implied in the "offer yourselves courageously to the *Ōyake*." At the time he wrote this text Enryō still could not foresee the series of "emergencies" that would arise in the following years and which continued even after his death. This is why he says that, because emergencies happen very rarely, the 以て means the ordinary, daily union of filial piety and loyalty with the *fuyoku* 扶翼, which means to help in the good carrying out of the "Imperial destiny" 皇運. And so the final result is that the *kōun wo fuyoku* 皇運ヲ扶翼 becomes the Way of Loyalty 忠道 (p. 24).

In this manner, for Enryō the connective *motte* 以て becomes the key to the mysterious meaning of the Imperial Rescript on Education. The absolute interpretation is jus-

tified in the following manner: Absolute Filial Piety *and* Absolute Loyalty together constitute the mysterious meaning of the Imperial Rescript on Education (p. 22).

The content of the absolute interpretation is twofold: one concerning ordinary times and one for emergencies. For *ordinary* times the absolute interpretation includes twelve aspects:

- a) Filial piety, friendship, harmony, trust, modesty, dedication, and universal love.
- b) Cultivating learning and learning a trade (job), to increasing intellectual capacities and moral qualities.
- c) Promotion of the public good; performance of one's duties; respect for the Constitution and laws of the State (pp. 23–24).

And for *emergency* times there is only one precept: to offer oneself dutifully and valiantly to the Imperial Household (p. 25). This means that the Way of Loyalty is one with the Way of Filial Piety: "In other words, the general meaning of morality in our country goes back to the union of filial piety and loyalty, and this is why it is absolute" (p. 26).

In a didactic procedure he lists the virtue for each of the fingers of both hands. For the fingers of the right hand, the virtues ascribed to loyalty (which are shown under the words "You subjects" of the Rescript): 1. Friendship among siblings; 2. Harmony between spouses; 3. Mutual trust among friends; 4. Modesty and moderation in oneself; and 5. Extending humanitarian love to everyone (p. 28).

For the fingers of the left hand, the virtues ascribed to filial piety towards father and mother: 1. Advancing in study and learning a trade (job); 2. Developing intellectual faculties and perfecting moral qualities; 3. Extending the public good and carrying out public duties; 4. Respecting the Constitution and observing the laws; and 5. Should emergencies arise, offering oneself to the *Ōyake* with justice and courage (pp. 28–29).

When these virtues are divided between the two hands, they represent *relative* filial piety and loyalty. But when we consider that both hands belong to the same body, the several virtues are united into just one *absolute* filial piety and loyalty. In this manner, we come to understand that loyalty and filial piety are intimately related and just one. This gives us the image of the "loyal and good subject" 忠良の臣民 (p. 29).

(2) Enryō quotes from the Rescript the expression, "In this manner you will not only be our loyal and good subjects but will also clearly manifest the tradition of your ancestors," in the sense that "loyalty not only means to keep the virtues of fidelity, filial piety, friendship, harmony and justice, courage, and offering oneself to the *Ōyake*, but also loyalty towards the sovereign and filial piety towards ancestors. That is, it shows the

complete attainment of loyalty and filial piety. Loyalty and filial piety interpenetrate and are one with each other." This is the meaning of Absolute Loyalty (p. 30).

(3) Where the Rescript refers to the descendants, filial piety is included, due to the fact that the subjects manifest loyalty. "This is the proper duty of descendants and subjects, and it must be the Way of Loyalty towards the Imperial Ancestors". This is Absolute Loyalty (p. 31).

(4) Filial piety as established by the Imperial Ancestors is the duty of the subjects. It is the Way of Loyalty that the "sacred Mandate" 聖旨 of the Imperial Rescript teaches to observe towards the Imperial Ancestors; "in short, it is one with the Way of Loyalty towards the Imperial Ancestors" (p. 32).

(5) The words "In complete loyalty and complete filial piety" in the Rescript mean Absolute Loyalty, which can also be called Absolute Filial Piety (p. 33).

(6) The expression "To make evident in all ages this accomplished beauty is the quintessence of the *Kokutai*," makes it clear that this is a unique feature of Japan vis-à-vis other countries. So we should understand that the Foundation of the country is something unique to Japan:

the *Kokutai* of Japan is special and peerless among all countries, and so it surpasses them all in virtue. This virtue is not a relative loyalty and filial piety but, rather, it is absolute loyalty and filial piety. Its beauty is not a relative but an absolute beauty, and the quintessence of the *Kokutai* is not a relative but an absolute quintessence. Relative loyalty and filial piety are characteristic of other countries and only in Japan they are absolute; this peculiarity constitutes its quintessence of unsurpassed beauty, as it is both an accomplished beauty of Japan and shows a special and beautiful custom and glory of the nation. (pp. 34–35)

(7) "Here is also the fountainhead of education." This fountainhead of education is also a special fountainhead in Japan (p. 35). It need not be expressed in words but its peculiarity lies in Absolute Loyalty (p. 36). Its fountainhead is the peculiar Absolute Loyalty of Japan, just as both the accomplished beauty and unique quintessence are born from that Absolute Loyalty (p. 37).

(8) Even though others say that these virtues certainly do not exist only in Japan and have been found in other countries since antiquity, Enryō states that the special great Way of Absolute Loyalty of Japan is, has been, and will be the most beautiful and the best, and will stand changeless throughout the ages (p. 38). Whenever this great Way is known in any age or country of the world it will not be opposed, but rather will be re-

spected and promoted, as it can be applied to any other country. This shows that this most beautiful and unsurpassed Way is the unchanging and unique truth of Absolute Loyalty, which is the sacred Mandate that must be followed (p. 39).

Through these eight points Enryō presents his absolute interpretation showing that the whole text of the Rescript signifies and discloses the absolute loyalty peculiar to Japanese morality: "Here we must for the first time perceive the deep meaning of vast and far-reaching, profound, accomplished beauty, quintessence, fountainhead, infallible, unerring, and other" such terms (p. 40).

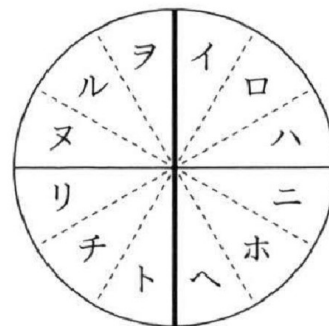
Here is the end of Enryō's presentation of his absolute interpretation, but in order to be better understood, he devises a mnemonic presentation of the virtues mentioned in the Imperial Rescript on Education by drawing a circle divided into twelve segments and following the Japanese *iroha* syllabary (p. 42).<sup>28</sup>

**Right half of the circle:**

- I.** Modesty and moderation in oneself.
- RO.** Advancing in study and learn a trade (job).
- HA.** Developing intellectual faculties and perfecting moral qualities.
- NI.** Filial piety towards father and mother.
- HO.** Friendship among siblings.
- HE.** Harmony between spouses

**Left half of the circle:**

- TO.** Mutual trust among friends.
- CHI.** Extending humanitarian love to everyone.
- RI.** Extending public good and carrying out public duties.  
Respecting the Constitution
- NU.** Observing the laws.
- RU.** Offering yourself to the *Ōyake* with justice and
- WO.** Courage.



The peculiarity of Japan is that loyalty and filial piety are absolute. In the absolute meaning of the Imperial Rescript on Education, which embraces absolute and relative loyalty and filial piety, the beauty of the *Kokutai*, which "extends to all ages," has been shown by the Imperial subjects through the practice of the above-mentioned virtues.

<sup>28</sup> Image from 『井上門了選集』 [Inoue Enryō selected writings] (Tokyo: 東洋大学, 1987–2004), vol. 11: 368.

I have not been able to ascertain whether Enryō maintained this interpretation until the end of his life or changed it in later years. However, it seems that, before 1910, the text of the Imperial Rescript on Education, in spite of its apparent simplicity, could be interpreted in several other ways while still keeping within orthodoxy. Through the sixteen or seventeen revisions of the Rescript beginning with the texts of MOTODA Nagazane [Eifu] 元田永孚, INOUE Kowashi 井上毅 and Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 the discrepancies between Motoda and INOUE Kowashi and its links both to the Imperial Edict for the Promulgation of the Constitution and to the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers in the phrase that begins with "offer yourself," the text came to bear various meanings, many of which were known to a small circle of intellectuals and officials before its official publication.<sup>29</sup>

## V. Inoue Tetsujirō. *Middle-School Textbook for Shūshin* (1902)

As the title says, this work was originally intended as a textbook for teaching *shūshin* 修身 [moral cultivation] on the basis of the Imperial Rescript on Education. INOUE Tetsujirō was interested in Japanese education and collaborated with the Ministry of Education. As mentioned at the beginning, he translated the book on Herbart by Christian UFER and published it in 1900 as *The Pedagogy of Herbart* 『ヘルバルト教育学』.<sup>30</sup>

In December 1902 Tetsujirō published his *Middle-School Textbook for Shūshin* 『中学修身教科書』 in five volumes,<sup>31</sup> one for each school year, which were the result and practical use of his own research. Judging from the manner in which the volumes are written, we are led to think that these textbooks were not designed for direct use by the students, but rather were addressed to middle-school teachers who would use them in class. He recommends that in teaching *shūshin* to the pupils there should be reference to the sayings of the ancients together with an appropriate explanation so that the content is impressed in the minds of the children. Apart from the instruction, care should be paid to the spiritual and "nurturing" 育成 aspect of the course and this means that the basis of the teaching should be the Imperial Rescript on Education. At the same

29 Cf. SAKATA Yoshio 坂田吉雄. 『明治前半期のナショナリズム』 [The nationalism of the first half of the Meiji period], 3rd ed. (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1976). NUMATA Satoshi 沼田哲. 『元田永孚と明治国家』 [Motoda Eifu and the Meiji state] (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005), pp. 262–286. 『教育勅語の思想』 [The ideas of the Imperial Rescript on Education], in vol. 2 of YATSUKI Kimio 八木公生. 『天皇と日本近代』 [The emperor and Japan's modern period] (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2001).

30 See note 1.

31 INOUE Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎. 『中学修身教科書』 [Middle-school textbook for *shūshin*] (Tokyo: 金港堂, 1902). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed February 10, 2015.

time, reference should also be made to the circumstances of Japan. Foreign books should not be used for this purpose as they would be dead materials to the students.

The texts were written in compliance with the requirements of the Ministry of Education, to which the author added his own views. Considering that only an hour a week was allotted to the *shūshin* course, the volumes cover a total of thirty-five hours, the length of each lesson is short, and the instructor should add any necessary clarifications. The manner in which the texts are written makes them more appropriate as reference works for the convenience of the teachers, on the basis of which they can instruct the pupils, rather than for the pupils themselves.

In order to give an idea of the contents, I present an overview of the index of the five volumes below. In the introduction Tetsujirō states that together with the advancement of learning there is a need to elevate the spirit of the people. This is why *shūshin* education holds an important place. However, the mere exposition of the history of morals is insipid and uninteresting for children and does not move their spirit. As their knowledge expands they will want to know the reasons for the rules of conduct, and the explanation of the theory of *shūshin* should be expounded in relation to their action and practice. This is why they must know what *shūshin* is (p. 1). Tetsujirō says this is one of the reasons why he edited these five volumes of the course of *shūshin* for the Middle schools.

In teaching *shūshin* to children, if the appropriate words of the ancients are given together with an explanation of their meaning, they will make a deep impact on the minds of the children. And thus the instructors should take the words of the ancients as their reference and offer them as materials to complement their course.

When teaching *shūshin* courses it is not enough merely to teach the pupils but rather, as teachers they should nurture them. If they do not nurture them, their teaching will not be spiritual but rather mechanical and in this case, they will not have any effect on the formation of human beings. As teachers they should not have any greater pleasure than to nurture the children. And this is what should be expected of them. (p. 2). Even if this is not all that should be said about *shūshin*, it is something that should be attended to.

Those who teach *shūshin* should make all efforts to practice what they teach. If this is not so, they will not obtain good results. And even when they make efforts to practice, if what they teach is not correct, it would be better not to teach them. This should be paid attention to from the very beginning. *Shūshin* is based on the "central meaning of the Rescript" 勅語の主意. It should be taught taking as a reference the conditions of our country. Even though in Japan texts on ethics from foreign countries are

used for teaching, they are not adequate. And even the books written by Japanese nationals who do not place spiritual education at their heart, are just dead materials and do not serve the purpose of nurturing the children (p. 3).

In the preface to the 1903 edition, Tetsujirō adds that as he dedicated his life to the education of the citizens, he has spent his energies in this task. This book is a result of his research and expounds his results in some detail. He says, "These books are based on the curriculum established by the Ministry of Education, to which the writer has added his own viewpoints and published them." This is why the course comprises five volumes. The first two deal with several problems in *shūshin*, which he approaches from the viewpoint of real practice. Volumes 3 and 4 are a reflection on the previous two volumes and explain them in detail. Volume 5 is a general overview of the other four and explains their theoretical basis. Each volume is designed for each school year, each with thirty-five hours of classes; this is why the number of pages is limited and the teachers are expected to fill in the rest. (p. 1). He also included reference materials (p. 2). Let us now take a look at the contents of the five books.

Volume 1 has five chapters with the following contents:

1. Rules concerning students (school rules; the teachers; and the duties of the students)
2. Rules concerning health (moderation; drinking and eating; exercise; rest and sleep; cleanliness of the body, of clothing and of dwellings)
3. Rules concerning study (decision; dedication; study; patience; common sense; restraint of lust)
4. Rules concerning friends (faithfulness; courtesy; intimacy; promises; choosing friends; realization of good works)
5. Rules concerning daily actions (language; manners; behavior; character; endurance and persistence; diligence; order; cheerfulness)

Volume 2 has four chapters:

1. Concerning the family (parents; siblings; ancestors; relatives)
2. Concerning the State (the Imperial Household; the subjects; the constitution and laws; military service; taxes)
3. Concerning society (intercourse with neighbors; work responsibility; the public good; official duties; civic responsibility)
4. Concerning morality (honesty; respect; patience; reflection; self-control and self-denial; error correction; generosity; prudence; impartiality and fairness; integrity; benevolence and philanthropy; requital of favors; courage; constancy; good name and fame; liberty)

Volume 3 has only two chapters:

1. Duties towards oneself (the body; life; health; the mind; intellect; feelings; the will; independence; occupation, jobs; property; personality)

2. Duties towards the family (parents; siblings; parental duties; spouses; relatives; family ancestors; servants)

Volume 4 has four chapters:

1. Duties towards society (the individual [which includes the personality, body, property, and reputation of others; favors; friendship; young and old; social rank; masters and servants]; the public; cooperation; social order; social progress; group belonging)
2. Duties towards the State (the National Entity or *Kokutai*; the Imperial Household [including loyalty; the Imperial Ancestors; the Imperial Rule]; the State [including the Constitution and laws; patriotism; military service; taxes; education; public duties; public rights; international relations])
3. Duties towards humanity
4. Duties towards all beings (animals and natural things)

Volume 5 has six chapters:

1. The various theories in ethics
2. Theory of conscience (action; motives; essence, activity, and origin of conscience)
3. Idealism (its meaning; hedonism; theory of asceticism; theory of realization)
4. Theories of duty (character and origin of duty; division of duties; duty and responsibility)
5. Theories of virtue (essence and classes of virtue; appropriation of virtues)
6. Conclusion

This is a general view of Tetsujirō's texts, but before we go on, we should remark that this series of five volumes was followed by a sixth with the title of *Ethics* or *Ethical Theory* 『倫理篇』, which covered the following themes: Preface: The nature of ethics, conscious life, and social life. a) Conscience (its intellectual, emotional and volitive activities; its origin and development). b) Action and "character" 品性 (the elements of action). c) Ideals (their character; the moral ideal). d) Duties (their character, origin and types). e) Virtues (the character of virtue; types and cultivation). Conclusion: The relationship between ethical law and natural law.<sup>32</sup>

Now I will go back to the last part of the fifth volume of the *shūshin* course. Tetsujirō argues that in the last instance what gives origin to moral action is not the social but the individual will (p. 93), the independent will. The final purpose of morality is the perfection of the personality and this can only be expected from an independent will (pp. 94–95) and the unity of the intellect and feelings. He says that all morality springs not only from the will but through the influence of the intellect and feelings. Personality is the character of an individual among his kindred. The mutual interaction

<sup>32</sup> INOUE Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎, 『中学修身教科書：倫理篇』 [Middle-school textbook for *shūshin*: Ethical theory volume] (Tokyo: 文学社, 1903). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed August 15, 2015.



among the intellect, feelings, and the will (each with its proper function) results in action and brings perfection to the personality (p. 97).

There are two aspects—negative and affirmative—of morality. There is negative morality, which can be practiced by any person. It has been practiced in times when human rights were not emphasized (p. 98) and even when these were emphasized in past times it was mainly through negative morality. Apart from negative morality, affirmative morality needed the cultivation of character and its free development, and it brought about the evolution and development of personality (p. 99). In negative morality the self perceives its own scope correctly and the possibility is open towards the promotion of the well-being of society. When courage arises from a correct perception of the goals to be attained, it can fight evil. Then justice can build order and development (p. 100).

Talking from experience, he says that when personality develops it necessarily brings about social development and its own free development. This is affirmative morality (p. 101). So if we desire free development, even though it be preceded by negative morality, it should be accompanied by positive morality. Negative and affirmative morality are like the two wheels of a cart, and should be united without inclining towards only one side (p. 102).

## VI. Towards a Hermeneutics of the Rescript

Perhaps we may wonder why should we talk about hermeneutics, when we know that there was a mandatory procedure that Enryō details in the introduction to his course on ethics for middle schools, *A Text on Shūshin for Middle Level [Schools]* 『中等修身書』 (1898).<sup>33</sup> Following the instructions published by the Ministry of Education concerning the courses on ethics for ordinary middle schools, the textbook had to meet the following requirements: a) it had to be designed in five grades; b) corresponding to the "academic capacity" 学力 of the students at each level of Middle School; c) the course had to be given in thirty-seven hours, one hour per week; with one lesson for each class meeting (p. 2).

Enryō explains that his course meets the above requirements: a) his course has five levels; b) for each level, his course has thirty-five lessons (instead of thirty-seven), leaving two hours for review of the course; c) at the end of each lesson he appended

<sup>33</sup> INOUE Enryō 井上円了. 『中等修身書』 [A text on *shūshin* for middle level (schools)] (Tokyo: 集英堂活版所, 1898). Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed December 1, 2015. A revised edition of the book was published in October, 1891, and a third edition in March, 1892.

some *kadai* 課題 [themes or questions] that should serve for review of the lesson the following week. Enryō added that, d) he was careful not to use unnecessary difficult *kanji* 漢字 [Chinese script], and when these appear in the text of the first volume, he added their pronunciation or explanation; e) the text in ethics is designed with a view towards practice rather than theory, keeping in mind the quintessence of the "sacred Mandate" 聖旨 of the Rescript in order to follow the great Path of Loyalty and Filial Piety (pp. 1–2).

We should not overlook the fact that, as YAJIMA Yokichi 矢島羊吉他 states, the reference to the term "sacred Mandate" or "sacred principles" 聖旨 had been used in the Reformed Ordinance on Education 「改正教育令」 of December, 1880, and became the foundation of the ideal of education that marked the change from "intellectual education" 知育 to a "moral education" 徳育 centered on "humaneness, justice, loyalty, and filial piety" 仁義忠孝, with an emphasis on Reverence towards the Emperor and love of the country.<sup>34</sup>

The main point that is the basis of the course is the following: taking the "sacred Mandate" of the Rescript as the foundation, the course covers the essentials of the ethics of human relationships that should be kept in mind and practiced by those who will in the future belong to society on a level higher than the middle school (p. 2).

Apart from the rules mentioned at the beginning, Enryō mentions four rules that should be followed in the courses of ethics: a) apart from the mandatory one hour a week, time should be provided for lectures and instructions on special occasions; b) in the first two years, the sayings and actions of great and wise men should be closely examined and the best way to practice those teachings in everyday life should be explained; c) building on the content of the previous two years, in the third year the essentials of the ethics of human relations should be explained, and taking loyalty and filial piety as the basis, the students should be taught the morality due to the State, the family, the self, society, and nature; d) in the fourth and fifth years, the essential meaning and duties towards the State (concept of the State, the character of the Constitution and the laws, the relationship between the individual and the State, and so on) should be clarified, centering on inculcating the role (public rights, such as voting and "self-government" 自治; private duties, such as savings and insurance) to be played in society by someone who has studied beyond the middle school (p. 3). This means that

<sup>34</sup> See YAJIMA Yokichi 矢島羊吉他, et al. 『道徳教育の研究』 [Research in moral education], rev. ed. (Tokyo: Fukumura Shuppan, 1991), pp. 50–55.

the contents of ethics should be explained so as to clarify the meaning of morality, duty, conscience, actions, good and evil, and so on (p. 4).

Close attention should be paid also to the following points: 1) the course on ethics should be carried out in an auditorium or classroom specially designed to create an impression on those who enter therein; 2) the teacher of ethics should make the necessary preparations first thing in the morning of the day of his class-meeting; 3) among those who can be elected to teach the course on ethics are the principal of the school or some other teacher with a corresponding status among the teachers, while the other teachers should cooperate with him; 4) even though the words and actions of the ancients be the subject, explanation should not be restricted to the past, but should be made relevant to recent changes so that they relate to the present, and discussion should not be restricted to theories concerning extreme cases or events.

Enryō explains the overall intent of his course. He says that: 1) in the first course there is an explanation of the Rescript with the words and actions of wise men of the past that should serve to clarify its "sacred principles" and that should be models for the Japanese people; 2) in the second course, instruction is given for the general public, concerning the Imperial Household, the family, society, property, and so on, which is explained through having recourse to things old and recent in East and West, both from history and from proverbs and sayings; 3) the third course is a general resumé of the first and second courses that explains and clarifies the Way towards the Imperial Household, towards the Self, the Family, Society, and the State; 4) the fourth course is especially dedicated to the exposition of the morality of the "citizen" 国民, and taking the *Kokutai* as its basis, the volume is divided into five sections: on the *Kokutai*, on Humanity, on Society, on the State, and on International Relations, so as to point out the proper responsibilities of the citizens that will in the future stand in society above the level of the middle school; and 5) the fifth course explains the essentials of ethics and is divided into sections on Ethics, Conscience, Action, Duties, Morality, and Law, so that there is a simple and short explanation of the terms used in ethics and their meaning (p. 6).

In this manner, there is a thread that runs through the five volumes of the course, beginning with an explanation of the Rescript (first course) followed by its application (second course); after this comes an explanation of individual morality and of some aspects of citizen morality that encompass the previous courses (third course); this is followed by an exposition of citizen morality that covers the content of the previous courses (fourth course). The course ends with an explanation of the several parts of the theory of ethics (fifth course) (pp. 6–7).

Here we will not follow each of the lessons contained in this course, but the above-mentioned explanation Enryō gives of his course is a good basis for the assertion that, thanks to his philosophical training, he was able to organize his courses on moral cultivation and on ethics so that they could be a contributing factor in the hermeneutics of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

## 1. The Course as a Five-Level Interpretation

In general, we should note that the whole five-year course of moral education is centered on the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890, and was designed for students that had finished their second year of higher elementary school and were between twelve and thirteen years of age at the time they entered the first course of middle school.

It was mandatory for the students to learn by heart the text of the Rescript and to be able to recite it aloud, individually or as a group. In order to make it easier for the adolescents to understand the Rescript, which was written in high-level language, Enryō draws on the basic Confucian procedure used in Zhū Xī's 朱熹 *Xiǎoxué* 『小学』. This was one of the basic books for instruction used in the *juku* 塾 [school or private academy] of the Tokugawa era,<sup>35</sup> so it is possible that Enryō drew inspiration from this text for the initial formulation of his explanation of the Rescript.

In the preface to the first book of the *Xiǎoxué* it is said that "the clear and bright social relations that must be known and practiced are: intimacy between parents and children, justice between sovereign and vassals, respect between husband and wife, precedence between older and younger siblings, and good relations among friends."<sup>36</sup> Enryō also follows the procedure in the *Xiǎoxué*, which is reported to differentiate into "philology, phonology, [and] textual criticism."<sup>37</sup>

As to the low level of *philology*, as will be seen later, in the first course Enryō ascertains that the students will be able to read and understand each of the Chinese characters that are used in the Imperial Rescript on Education. As to the *phonology*, it was

35 See for example KAIGO Tokiomi 海後宗臣, NAKA Arata 仲新, TERASAKI Masao 寺崎昌男, eds. 『教科書でみる近現代日本の教育』 [Modern and contemporary Japanese education as seen in textbooks] (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 1999), p. 15. It is known that Enryō studied the *Xiǎoxué* 『小学』 [Elementary learning] in 1872 at the Kimura-juku 木村塾. See OGURA Takeharu 小倉竹春治. 『井上円了の思想』 [The thought of Inoue Enryō] (Tokyo: Kokura Shobō, 1986), p. 10.

36 「明倫而知、父子之親、君臣之義、夫婦之別、長幼之序、明友之交、必踐」, in ZHŪ Xī 朱熹 『小学』 [Elementary learning] (Osaka: 中川蔵版, 1882), vol. 1, p. 3. Scan [www.kindai.ndl.go.jp](http://www.kindai.ndl.go.jp). Accessed March 4, 2015.

37 Anne CHENG. *Histoire de la pensée chinoise* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1997), p. 573.

mandatory at the time that the students should learn the Rescript by heart and could recite it on special occasions; so the instructor had to take care of this aspect, for which Enryō provides the readings. Enryō divides the text of the Rescript into short phrases and then explains the readings and the meaning.

As regards *textual criticism*, most probably it was not permitted at the time and it would not have any meaning to middle school students, so there is no trace of it in the lessons. We have seen in the two texts mentioned above the manner in which Enryō made his interpretation and which can be taken as the basis for understanding his hermeneutics of the Imperial Rescript on Education.<sup>38</sup>

## 2. General Remarks

As we saw earlier, Enryō's text for each level of the course comprises thirty-five lessons, leaving two or three sessions at the end of the school year for review and questions (probably exams). The lessons for the five levels are designed with increasing difficulty, corresponding to the academic abilities of the students. For each level, the author uses *kanji* and the readings the student is supposed to know at that school level for ease of comprehension. Whenever a *kanji* is introduced that needs special explanation, this is inserted in the text. Although the structure of the lessons is different on each level, we can see that there is always a title at the beginning and some *kadai* 課題 at the end, to be used by the teacher as material for reflection. In general, we should note again that the whole five-year course of Moral Education is centered on the Imperial Rescript of Education of 1890 and the values contained therein.

## 3. The Manner of Interpretation

Enryō develops his text having in mind that the purpose of the course is to study the sacred Mandate of the Imperial Rescript on Education. Taking the Great Way of Loyalty and Filial Piety<sup>39</sup> as the connecting concepts throughout the five volumes, he

<sup>38</sup> Only later is there an effort to ascertain philologically the meaning of the language and Chinese characters used in the Rescript. For example the chapter 「勅語の言語文字の意義」 [The meaning of the language and characters of the Rescript], in YAMADA Takao 山田孝雄, 『教育に関する勅語義解』 [Exploring the meaning of the Imperial Rescript on Education] (Tokyo: 宝文館, 1934), pp. 22–63.

<sup>39</sup> In the *Xiàojīng* it is said, 「夫孝、徳之本也、教之所由生也」 [This filial piety is the foundation of virtue and the fountainhead of the teachings], 『孝経』 [Classic of filial piety]. E-text <http://ctext.org>. Accessed February 14, 2016. NAKAE Tōju 中江藤樹 says in his 『孝経啓蒙』 [Clarifying the *Xiàojīng*], 「夫れ孝は徳の本なり。教の由りて生ずるところなり」 [This filial piety is the foundation of virtue. It is the place wherefrom the teachings are born], in vol. 29 of 『日本思想大系』 [Great series of Japanese

expects that his course will serve to instruct those who will have a place in society beyond those whose formal education did not go beyond primary school. At the beginning of each volume, Enryō specifies the manner in which this will be done for the different levels of the course. (For levels one through three, I have subdivided the lessons into groups and have given each group a title. INOUE Enryo provides subdivisions and titles for levels four and five).

### *Level One*

Enryō explains that the purpose is to carry out an "interpretation" 解釈 of the Imperial Rescript on Education, so that the students can be wise in both word and action, illustrating each lesson with some person or action that can be a model for the people of Japan. The text of each lesson is designed in such a manner that the sacred intention of the Emperor can be clarified.

Each lesson has four parts: a) a quotation from the Imperial Rescript on Education; b) the reading and explanation of difficult Chinese characters; c) the body of the explanation, which includes a concrete example (person, event, or action) of the subject, as was already in use from the early Meiji in the *gyōgi no satoishi*; and d) the *kadai* or "themes" to be additionally explained or assigned to the students as homework. From this perspective let us look at the structure of the first three lessons.

*First lesson.* The first lesson is an explanation of the Rescript. Enryō says that the present Emperor, concerned with the education of his subjects, promulgated on October 30, 1890 the Rescript which is the great foundation of morality that the people must keep and which is the basis of *shūshin*. Then the full text of the Imperial Rescript on Education is given for its mandatory memorization by the students. After the text there is a short commentary in which Enryō says that this document shows the peculiar great Way of the country, which must be carried out by all subjects and which they must engrave on their hearts and never forget. This is why both the wording and pronunciation should be taught, and the deep meaning explained in simple words in order to show the students the sacred ideas it contains. At the end of the lesson there are two themes: the year of the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890), and what must be understood by the people in regard to the Rescript (pp. 1–3).

thought] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), pp. 185, 18.

*Second lesson. Sosō* 祖宗 (The descent of the ancestors)

- a) *Quotation from the Rescript.* 「朕惟フニ我カ皇祖皇宗」 "We, having considered that Our Ancestors and Lineage" (officially translated as "Know ye, Our subjects: Our Imperial Ancestors").
- b) *Explanation of terms.* *Chin* 朕 is a word used only by the Emperor. *Omou ni* 惟に is the same as *omou ni* 思ふに. *Kōso kōsō* 皇祖皇宗 "means that which is related to the Ancestors of the Emperor from age to age. If we separate the two words, then *kōso* would include from Amaterasu-ōmikami 天照大御神 to Emperor Jimmu; and the *kōsō* will be the succeeding Emperors after him. This is why both are mentioned."
- c) *Explanation.*
- d) *Kadai.*

*Third lesson. Chōkoku* 肇国 (The foundation of the nation)

- a) *Quotation from the Rescript.* 「國ヲ肇ムルコト宏遠ニ」 "having founded the Country, wide and far-reaching" (officially translated as "have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting").
- b) *Explanation of terms.* 肇 is read *hajimu*, and has the meaning of "to begin, to open up, to start." *Kō* 宏 has the meaning of "wide and great"; this is why *kōen* 宏遠, being wide and far-reaching, expresses that the *kuni* 国 country was not built or constructed in one morning and one evening.
- c) *Explanation.* "In order to make known the great principles, the present Emperor lets his subjects know of the foundation of the country and of its rule as carried out by the Ancestors, which was a magnificent work, so that the subjects come to know the great affection the Ancestors have had for them. Concerning the history of the country, Emperor Jimmu [神武天皇] was in the land of fair rice-ears when he was summoned to go to conquer Kyūshū (the Land of Tsukushi [筑紫]). On the way he met a fisherman who was a country-god called Utsuhiko [珍彦] who led him to Oka [岡] in Chikuzen [筑前]. From there he went to the province of Aki [安芸], then to Nanihatsu [難波津]. When he arrived in the town of Kusaka [日下] (Kafuchi [河内] province), a man named Nagasunehiko [長髓彦] levied forces to fight him and the Imperial forces were unable to advance. Then the Emperor said, 'I am the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, and if I proceed against the Sun to attack the enemy, I shall act contrary to the way of Heaven.' So he changed roads and entered Kii and advancing from there he attacked and destroyed Naga-sune-hiko. And he was

able to initially pacify Nakatsu. And so, the Emperor being in the land of Yamato carried out the ceremony of accession to the Household, of one lineage for ten thousand years and at the same time laid the foundation for the Imperial rule [寶祚]. Is this not magnificent?"<sup>40</sup>

- d) *Kadai*. The meaning of the characters: 肇 (*hajimu*) and 宏遠 (*kōen*); The meaning of: 「國ヲ肇ムルコト宏遠ニ」; Examples: The route of the expedition of Jimmu Tennō; The conquest of Yamato; The reason for the change of route of the Imperial Army; The pacification of Nakatsu 中津.

After these short examples, let us look at the sequence of themes that are covered in the lessons for the first grade. The example for each lesson is in parentheses.

#### Lessons 1–5 The Imperial Household and its Subjects

1. The text of the Imperial Rescript 勅語
2. The Imperial Lineage 祖宗 (The Descent of the Ancestors 天孫降臨)
3. The founding of the Nation 肇国 (Jimmu Tennō 神武天皇)
4. The foundation of morality 樹德 (Nintoku Tennō 仁德天皇)
5. The subjects 臣民 (TAKEUCHI Shukune 武内宿禰)

#### Lessons 6–9 Some basic concepts

6. Loyalty and filial piety 忠孝 (TAIRA no Shigenori 平重盛)
7. The million beings 億兆 (Mandate of Declaration of War 宣戰大詔)
8. The great legacy and its realization 濟美 (KUSUNOKI Masanari 楠正成)
9. *Kokutai* 国体 (War for the Conquest of Korea 征韓の役)

#### Lessons 10–16 Education and Basic Virtues

10. Education 教育 (TOKUGAWA Mitsukuni 徳川光圀)
11. Filial conduct 孝行 (WATANABE Kazan 渡邊崋山)
12. Friendship 友愛 (Relations of MORI Mototsugu 毛利元就)
13. Harmony and fellowship 和順 (KAIBARA Ekiken 貝原益軒 and his wife)
14. Fidelity and duty 信義 (TAKAYAMA Hikokurō 高山彦九郎)
15. Moderate conduct 恭儉 (TOKUGAWA Ieyasu 徳川家康)
16. Philanthropy 博愛 (UESUGI Kenshin 上杉謙信)

#### Lessons 17–20 Studies and Learning

17. Training and learning 修学 (HAYASHI Razan 林羅山)
18. Learning and work 習業 (KUMAZAWA Banzan 熊沢蕃山)
19. Knowledge and ability 知能 (ARAI Hakuseki 新井白石)
20. Talent and virtue 德器 (SUGAWARA no Michizane 菅沼原道真 and NAKAE Tōju 中江藤樹)

#### Lessons 21–24 The Public Good and Government

21. Public profit 公益 (NINOMIYA Sontoku 二宮尊徳)
22. Official duties 世務 (INŌ Tadataka 伊能忠敬)

<sup>40</sup> Cf. ASTON, *Chronicle of Japan* (see note 26), pp. 109–116.



23. National constitution 国憲 (Ceremony of Enactment of the Constitution 憲法発布式)
24. National laws 国法 (HAYASHI Shihei 林子平)

#### Lessons 25–28 Virtues of the Citizen

25. Justice and valor 義勇 (SAKANOUE no Tamuramaro 坂上田村麿)
26. Offering oneself to the *Ōyake* 奉公 (WAKE no Kiyomaro 和氣清麿)
27. Prosperity of the Imperial destiny 皇運 (NITTA Yoshisada 新田義貞)
28. Loyalty and goodness 忠良 (KITABATAKE Chikafusa 北畠親房)

#### Lessons 29–32 Examples from the Past

29. Ancient customs 遺風 (FUJIWARA Kamatari 藤原鎌足)
30. Ancient admonitions 遺訓 (Shōtoku Taishi 聖德太子)
31. Past and present 古今 (Emperor Shūn 帝舜)
32. Internal and external affairs 中外 (Nelson)

#### Lessons 33–34 Politics

33. Memorable events 服膺 (Meiji Restoration 王政維新)
34. A virtue 一德 (Opening of Parliament 国会開設)
35. Conclusion 歸結.

### *Level Two*

Like level one, level two is constructed on the basis of the Imperial Rescript on Education and is intended as a reminder on several themes that should be kept in mind at all times. These themes are, among others: the Imperial Household, the leaders of the people, the sovereign, society and social relations, and so on, as part of the instruction related to the children's understanding of the Imperial intention. The course is made up of thirty-five lessons, the same as the other levels, and they have the same structure as the lessons of the first level. The examples are in parentheses.

#### Lessons 1–8: Primary Relations

1. The Imperial Household 皇室 (External Attacks 元寇來襲)
2. The subjects 国民 (KUSUNOKI Masatsura 楠正行)
3. Parents 父母 (NAKAE Tōju 中江藤樹)
4. Siblings 兄弟 (AIZAWA Yasushi [Seishisai] 会沢安[正志齋])
5. Spouses 夫婦 (UESUGI Harunori 上杉治憲)
6. Ancestors 祖先 (Imperial Rescripts Given by the Emperors 天皇陛下の勅語)
7. Relatives 親族 (Family Register 姓氏錄)
8. Friends 朋友 (Teachings of KAIBARA Ekiken 貝原益軒)

#### Lessons 9–13: Leaders of the People

9. Chieftains 師長 (Alexander and Aristotle)
10. Society 社会 (King Yü 禹王 of Xià 夏: one of the five mythical Emperors of Ancient China)
11. The State 国家 (YAMAZAKI Ansai 山崎闇齋)
12. Government 政府 (Rescript of Kōken Tennō 孝謙天皇の勅語)

13. The sovereign 君主 (Talks of MOTOORI Norinaga 本居宣長言)

#### Lessons 14–18: The Person

14. The self 自己 (ITŌ Jinsai 伊藤仁斎)
15. The body 身体 (Kant)
16. The spirit 精神 (Socrates and Bruno)
17. Language 言語 (KATŌ Kiyomasa 加藤清正)
18. Action 挙動 (TAIRA no Masakado 平将門 and FUJIWARA no Hidesato 藤原秀郷)

#### Lessons 19–23: Abilities

19. Disposition 資性 (Emperor Go-Kōmyō 後光明天皇)
20. Knowledge 知識 (Newton)
21. Scholarship 学問 (Modern Inventors 近世の発明家)
22. Moral duties 徳義 (Ōishi Yoshio 大石良雄)
23. Governance of the Household 家政 (Nene, the wife of the Hō Taikō [TOYOTOMI Hideyoshi] 豊太閤 [豊田秀吉])

#### Lessons 24–28: Life in Society

24. Occupation 職業 (HIRAGA Gennai 平賀源内 and AOKI Kon'yō 青木昆陽)
25. Assets and Property 財産 (Wellington)
26. Reputation 名誉 (Columbus)
27. Sociability 交際 (Ii Naosuke 井伊直弼, 1815–1860)
28. Manners, etiquette 礼法 (Emperor Wén 文王 of Zhōu 周)

#### Lessons 29–34: Social Relations

29. Food and clothing 衣食 (Daigo Tennō 醍醐天皇, 885–930)
30. Dwellings, housing 住居 (Mencius' mother 孟母; Environment conducive to child learning)
31. Art 美術 (Priest painter Sesshū 雪舟)
32. Entertainment 遊興 (A tale from the *Tsurezure-gusa* 『徒然草』)
33. Customs 風俗 (TAKIZAWA Okikuni [Bakin] 滝澤興邦 [馬琴])
34. Ritual, ceremony 儀式 (Rescript of Jimmu Tennō 神武天皇の勅語)

#### Lesson 35: Conclusion

35. Conclusion 帰結 (The Great Rescript on the Restoration of Peace 平和克復の大詔)

### *Level Three*

On the basis of a general review of the content of the first two levels, Enryō gives an explanation of the Way of the Subject divided into five distinguishable parts: the Way towards the Imperial Household, the Way towards the self, the family, society, and towards the State. The different sections are not marked in the text but here I will introduce them in order to bring to light the structure of the course. I will give an example of *kadai* for each lesson.

#### Lessons 1–4: Imperial Household

1. The Way vis-à-vis the Imperial Household 皇室に対する道 (*Kadai*. The *Kokutai* of our country)
2. The *Kokutai* 国体 (*Kadai*. First Article of the Imperial Constitution)
3. The subjects 臣民 (*Kadai*. The Imperial Household as sacred family of the subjects)
4. Loyalty and filial piety 忠孝 (*Kadai*. Unity of loyalty and filial piety in human morality)

#### Lessons 5–9: The Self

5. The Way towards the self 自己に対する道. (*Kadai*. The four moral duties in our country)
6. The body 身体 (*Kadai*. Duties towards the body)
7. The intellect 智力 (*Kadai*. The need to educate the people)
8. The will 意志 (*Kadai*. The soul of Japan)
9. The emotions 情操 (*Kadai*. The power of emotions)

#### Lessons 10–16: Family

10. The Way towards the family 家族に対する道 (*Kadai*. Subdivisions of morality towards the family)
11. Parents 父母 (*Kadai*. The difference between human beings and beasts)
12. Siblings 兄弟 (*Kadai*. The precedence of grown-ups and infants)
13. Spouses 夫婦 (*Kadai*. The Way of husband and wife)
14. Ancestors 祖先 (*Kadai*. The custom of venerating the ancestors)
15. Relatives 親族 (*Kadai*. One should not isolate oneself or cut oneself off from others)
16. Servants 僕婢 (*Kadai*. Duties of servants)

#### Lessons 17–27: Society

17. The Way towards society 社会に対する道 (*Kadai*. Mutual help in society)
18. Men and women 男女 (*Kadai*. The education of women)
19. The aged and the infirm 老弱 (*Kadai*. The Way of the elders and the young)
20. Property 遺賤 (*Kadai*. Differences in property)
21. Subordination 賓服 (*Kadai*. The Way of social status)
22. Friends 朋友 (*Kadai*. Profitable and unprofitable friendships)
23. Teachers and elders 師長 (*Kadai*. Teachers are our second parents)
24. City and village 町村 (*Kadai*. Public works in cities and towns)
25. The public 公衆 (*Kadai*. The highest virtue in human life)
26. Academic work 学問 (*Kadai*. Primary and secondary school students)
27. Business enterprise 事業 (*Kadai*. Occupations adequate to intellect and to strength)

#### Lessons 28–34: The State

28. The Way towards the State 国家に対する道 (*Kadai*. Benefits of the establishment of the State)
29. The government 政府 (*Kadai*. The protection of the government)
30. The Imperial Parliament 帝国議会 (*Kadai*. Instructions for the election of representatives)
31. Laws and regulations 法令 (*Kadai*. The difference between law and morality)
32. Taxes 租税 (*Kadai*. Types of taxes)
33. Military service 兵役 (*Kadai*. The duty of military service)
34. Education 教育 (*Kadai*. The education of the people)

Lesson 35: Conclusion

35. Conclusion 歸結 (*Kadai*. Morality in our country is centered on the Imperial Household)

*Level Four*

On this level Enryō begins his organization of an ethics on the basis of the Imperial Rescript on Education. He sketches an overview of the moral conduct of the citizen (subject) and he explains it in five sections for the students. The course is oriented towards giving the students some references for their practice when they go out into the world. The five sections are: General remarks, on the *Kokutai*, on Humanity, on Society, on the State and on International Relations. It ends with an explanation of the manner in which the *Kokutai* is related to the other sections.

I. General section

1. The *Kokutai* 国体 (*Kadai*. Meaning of *Kokutai*)
2. Human beings 人間 (*Kadai*. Duties towards the nation of Japan)
3. Society 社会 (*Kadai*. The blessings of society)
4. The State 国家 (*Kadai*. The State is like an organism)
5. International 国際 (*Kadai*. War and survival of the fittest)

II. The section on the *Kokutai*

6. Nation-building 建国 (*Kadai*. Conditions for Nation-building)
7. The Divine Vessels 神器 (*Kadai*. The three divine vessels)
8. Legacy of teachings 遺訓 (*Kadai*. Imperial Edict of the great goddess Amaterasu)
9. The subjects 国民 (*Kadai*. Essentials of racial identity)
10. National history 国史 (*Kadai*. History as the fountainhead of patriotism)
11. National language 国語 (*Kadai*. The language and literature of our nation)
12. Territory 国土 (*Kadai*. Rights of land property come from the Imperial Household)
13. The sovereign 君主 (*Kadai*. The center of the human body)
14. Reverence towards the gods 敬神 (*Kadai*. The three great duties of our people)
15. Respect towards the Emperor 尊皇 (*Kadai*. The benevolent rule of our present Emperor)
16. Patriotism 愛国 (*Kadai*. Explanation of the Japanese Spirit)

III. The section on Humanity

17. Honesty 誠意 (*Kadai*. Relationship among nation, family, and individual)
18. *Shūshin* 修身 (*Kadai*. The effects of *shūshin*)
19. Household administration 齊家 (*Kadai*. How to administer a household)
20. Precepts for life 處世 (*Kadai*. How to relate to people in the world)

IV. The section on Society

21. Philanthropy 慈善 (*Kadai*. The need to cultivate a natural philanthropy)
22. Productive activities 殖産 (*Kadai*. Climate and soil in our nation)
23. Industrial enterprises 興業 (*Kadai*. Competition with foreign countries)

24. Science and technology 學術 (*Kadai*. Relationship between science-technology and war)

#### V. The section on the State

25. Life 生命 (*Kadai*. Not injuring the lives of other people)
26. Property 財產 (*Kadai*. The right to bequeath property to descendants)
27. Good name 名譽 (*Kadai*. The right to preserve one's good name)
28. Freedom 自由 (*Kadai*. Extreme liberalism)
29. Politics 政治 (*Kadai*. Our incomparable system of constitutional monarchy)
30. Religion 宗教 (*Kadai*. The religion that our country will have in the future)

#### VI. The section on International Relations

31. Diplomacy 外交 (*Kadai*. Peace and amity, competition and war)
32. International commerce 通商 (*Kadai*. Importance of trust in international commerce)
33. Sovereignty 國權 (*Kadai*. --)
34. Armaments 軍備 (*Kadai*. The need to show a just reason before declaring war)
35. Conclusion 歸結 (*Kadai*. The difference between theoretical and practical morality)

### *Level Five*

In this level we find the fundamental concepts of ethics. Enryō goes on from what has been said in the previous four levels to the articulation of the ethics that the student who finishes his middle-school courses will have in mind when he goes into the world. The course is divided into six sections: General remarks; Ethics; the Good Conscience; Action; Duties; Morality and Law.

#### I. General Remarks

1. Ethics 倫理 (*Kadai*. The problem of good and evil)
2. Conscience 良心 (*Kadai*. Why conscience is a natural endowment)
3. Action 行為 (*Kadai*. Definition of action)
4. Duty 義務 (*Kadai*. Relationship between conscience and duty)
5. Morality 德性 (*Kadai*. Difference between virtue and duty)
6. Laws and rules 規律 (*Kadai*. Independence of moral rules)

#### II. The section on Ethics

7. Theory 理論 (*Kadai*. The problem of theoretical ethics)
8. Reality 實際 (*Kadai*. Unity of knowledge and action)
9. Goals 目的 (*Kadai*. The ultimate goal of human life)
10. Standards 標準 (*Kadai*. Interpretation of the standard of good and evil)

#### III. The section on Conscience

11. Natural endowments 天賦 (*Kadai*. The sayings of Mengzi)
12. Experience 經驗 (*Kadai*. The difficulty of changing conscience through experience)
13. Habits 習慣 (*Kadai*. The relationship between age and the force of habit)
14. Heredity 遺傳 (*Kadai*. Heredity and education must sustain each other)
15. Education 教育 (*Kadai*. Moral and intellectual education, and conscience)

#### IV. The section on Action

16. Bodily desires 体欲 (*Kadai*. Not all desires are bad)
17. Feelings and intellect 情智 (*Kadai*. Intellectual strength and good and evil)
18. Motives 動機 (*Kadai*. Good and evil in the strength of impulse)
19. The will 意志 (*Kadai*. Explain the theory of free will)
20. Behavior 舉動 (*Kadai*. Three types of moral action)

#### V. The section on Duties

21. Individual 個人的 (*Kadai*. The origin of moral duty)
22. Social 社会的 (*Kadai*. Types of social duties)

#### VI. The section on Morality

23. Self-restraint 節制 (*Kadai*. Cultivation of the morality of self-restraint)
24. Obedience 從順 (*Kadai*. The ideals of the education of soldiers)
25. Courage 勇氣 (*Kadai*. Types of moral courage)
26. Wisdom 知恵 (*Kadai*. The wisdom of politicians and businessmen)
27. Benevolence 仁愛 (*Kadai*. Morality of benevolence and philanthropy)
28. Justice 正義 (*Kadai*. Spirit of self-government and the idea of independence)
29. Honesty, sincerity 誠実 (*Kadai*. Trust is the basis of many a business)
30. Religion 宗教 (*Kadai*. The virtue of religion and society )

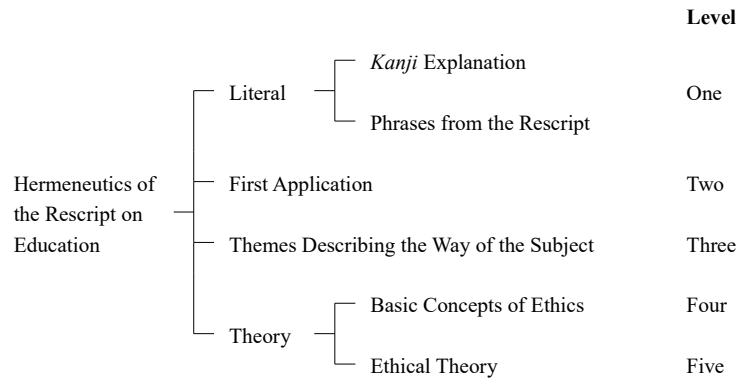
#### VII. The section on Law

31. Legal 法律的 (*Kadai*. Methods of moral reward and punishment)
32. Social 社会的 (*Kadai*. Reward and punishment in the afterlife)
33. Natural 自然的 (*Kadai*. Relationship between conduct and health)
34. Psychological 心理的 (*Kadai*. The difficulty of evading the judgment of conscience)
35. Conclusion 歸結 (*Kadai*. The way that takes loyalty and filial piety as the basis)

### 4. Overview

Once the panorama of the five levels is kept in mind, we can review Enryō's procedure in the articulation of his ethics. The first course is an interpretation of the Imperial Rescript on Education that points out the virtues that are mentioned in the text. The second course explains the application of the virtues mentioned in the Rescript. The third course unites the first two courses and explains individual and citizen morality (the subject). The fourth course explains the Way of the subject as part of ethics. And the fifth course organizes the contents of the four previous courses into a theory of ethics.

In this manner, from the interpretation of a short text of 315 characters, the student is led to a view of his own self, of the family, of society, of the State, and of the Imperial Household, while being expected to have learned all aspects related to correct conduct as a Japanese subject. This is done through a progressive analysis of the text of the Imperial Rescript on Education, which can be seen in the following chart:



This interpretation of the Imperial Rescript on Education was not an occasional effort on the part of Enryō. There are other instances that let us see that this procedure was constantly in his mind in his teaching efforts, which extended not only to the school-room but also to the conferences he gave around the country.

## VII. Concluding Remarks

We can now see that in Enryō's course we have a moral education project that has six characteristics:

- a) it is not centered on "humanity" or "benevolence" 仁 flowing out of "nature" 性 as in Confucius and Mencius, nor is it based on the "knowledge of the good" 良知 as in WÁNG Yángmíng 王陽明, but on *chūkō* 忠孝, that is, on loyalty and filial piety towards the Emperor, the Imperial Household and the State;
- b) it is academically organized on the basis of the *Xiǎoxué* 小学 of ZHŪ Xī 朱熹 in the first levels, together with Enryō's training in Western philosophy and Buddhist ethics;
- c) it is based on the Confucian method of learning through model imitation, to which the abstract concept of a virtue is applied in each case;
- d) it met the requirement of being based on the Imperial Rescript on Education;
- e) it is graded in such a manner that it accords with the intellectual development of the students; and
- f) as a dialogical interpretative effort, it is basically a hermeneutics of the Imperial Rescript on Education.

I would like to present a few comments on the *shūshin* texts by the Two Inoues, which were designed for classroom use. Some of the differences that can be pointed out are:

1) the first is the general intent of the books. In the case of INOUE Tetsujirō they are written more as an aid to the teacher at middle-school level than as a text primarily addressed to the students. In contrast, INOUE Enryō begins his course with an explanation of the Rescript divided into short phrases, so that in each lesson the students can learn to read it, commit it to memory, read a short explanation, and have additional aspects to consider.

2) The second difference is that the tone of Tetsujirō's text is normative rather than explanatory. For example, the very first sentence of the first lesson in the first grade says, "The school rules are designed for the convenience of the student's learning [修学] and should not oppress the students. This being so, the students should apply themselves day and night diligently to comply with and safeguard them." Or the first sentence of the second grade: "Our parents are the basis of our body; without them we would not exist. The debt towards them for our lives is deeper than the ocean, higher than the mountains. How could we repay them? To have filial piety [towards them] is only one way to repay them". In contrast, the tone in Enryō is explanatory and uses easy-to-understand terms.

3) The general themes of the courses are also different. In the case of Tetsujirō, the second course has four chapters. The first refers to the household (parents, brothers, ancestors, relatives); the second concerns the State (the Imperial Household, the people, the Constitution, conscription, taxation); the third refers to society (neighbors, work responsibility, public interest, duties, public spirit); the fourth concerns "morality" 修得, (honesty, modesty, patience, reflexion, self-control, public-mindedness, self-respect, public peace, integrity, philanthropy, gratitude, valor, fidelity, good name, freedom).

4) However, there is a similarity in that the third and fourth courses are a repetition on a higher level of the themes covered in the first and second books. The third course in Tetsujirō covers two chapters (duties towards oneself, and duties towards the family) while the fourth has four chapters (duties towards society, duties towards the State, duties towards humanity, and duties towards nature). In the case of Enryō this repetition is carried out in the third grade.

5) There is also a similarity in the case of the fifth course, as it covers themes characteristic of ethics: apart from the general explanation and the conclusion, it refers to



"conscience" 良心, ideals, duties, and morality. However, the specific themes and the manner of their exposition is different.

6) We should remark that Tetsujirō explains the concepts of the Rescript on the basis of his experience in Western countries, while Enryō constructs his course on the basis of the ideas contained in the Rescript itself. Among the thirty-nine virtues to be promoted by *shūshin* courses, as KATAGIRI Satarō says, one aspect refers to the *subjective self* 主我, or, the primary, transcendental, Absolute Self, which is not addressed in any of the *shūshin* courses, and another aspect refers to the four *objective selves* 客我, which are the individual self (15), the familial self (7), the national self (6), and the social self (11).<sup>41</sup> The virtues that should be promoted are:

1) The individual self is concerned with *survival* and its virtues are: moderation in drink and food; adequate sleep; convenient clothing; bodily training; clean dwelling, body and clothing; acquisition of knowledge and skills; training of emotions; job learning; thrift in money and things; well-ordered living; refined language; control of emotions; discipline of the will; cultivating a spirit of appreciation of beauty; a refined conscience.

2) The familial self is concerned with *succession* and its virtues are: good relations between the sexes; relationship between spouses; filial duties; friendship among siblings; good upbringing of children; familial harmony; good standing with relatives.

3) The national self is concerned with *public service* and its virtues are: loyalty towards the sovereign and love of country; respect for the Constitution and the law; conscription and taxes; public duties and public rights; development of self-governing bodies; a spirit of public benefit and public duties.

4) The social self is concerned with *mutual relationships* and its virtues are: loyalty to the groups one belongs to; respect for the good name and property of others; surety of a communitarian spirit; being on time; expectations and promises; benevolence and requital of favors; friendship and courtesy; order and advancement; sympathy towards human beings; sympathy towards beings other than humans; the search for truth.<sup>42</sup>

Even though there is a difference in the manner of exposition, we should keep in mind, as HISAKI Yukio says, that there were a number of themes that were mandatory in the *shūshin* courses, particularly: 1. filial piety, 2. loyalty, 3. courtesy, 4. modesty, 5. requital of favors to the State, 6. benevolence, 7. justice, 8. self-control, 9. diligence,

<sup>41</sup> Numbers refer to the chart 2 following page 4 of KATAGIRI. 『国定修身書ニ関スル研究』 (see note 7).

<sup>42</sup> KATAGIRI. 『国定修身書ニ関スル研究』 (see note 7), chart 2 following page 4.

10. compassion, 11. control of desires, 12. responsibility, 13. reverence towards the Emperor, 14. fidelity towards the *Kokutai*, 15. respect for government laws and regulations, 16. respect for the elders, 17. patriotism, 18. development of knowledge, 19. bodily health. There were other themes mandatory for the teachers themselves: 20. self-control in speaking and actions, 21. learning, experience, 22. good sexual conduct, and others.<sup>43</sup> The themes 1 to 19 are found in the textbooks on *shūshin* published by Enryō.

## VIII. Appendix

### 1. Methodological Aspects

I would like to mention several points that I have considered necessary for my task of correctly understanding INOUE Enryō's *A Text on Shūshin for Middle Level [Schools]* 『中等修身書』. The points I include in my reflection are nine.

(1) The primary *Reference Text*. the *Rescript* given to the people by Emperor Meiji in October, 1890. For a more complete view, a second text that should be considered is the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors 「陸海軍軍人に賜はりたる敕諭」 of January, 1882, which in later years (1894–1895, the war against China, or 1904–1905, the war against Russia) was linked to the Rescript.

(2) *Transmission of the Text*. Apart from the transmission of the text in its original form of expression, we can mention another three ways in which the text of the contents of the *Rescript* have been transmitted.

- a) Through its translation into everyday Japanese and into foreign languages. For Japanese themselves, the usual form is the addition of the readings of difficult *kanji* as *furigana*. In the case of its translation into foreign languages, rather than word for word translations we find a kind of accommodated meaning that tries to express the original contents in the cultural terms of the recipient language.
- b) Through explanations of the contents using ordinary language. In section IV of this paper I have presented the content of several of them in abbreviated form.

<sup>43</sup> For the complete table see HISAKI Yukio 久木幸男. 「明治儒教と教育：1800年代を中心に」 [Confucianism and education in the Meiji era: With focus on the 1880s], 『横浜国立大学教育紀要』 [Education bulletin of Yokohama Governmental University] 28 (1988). Scan <http://kamome.lib.ynu.ac.jp>. Accessed March 4, 2015.

- c) Through its hermeneutics, that is to say, through an interpretation that uncovers the way a message makes sense. I chose this third possibility of ascertaining the understanding both of Meiji-period interpreters of the Rescript and of my reading of their works, especially of INOUE Enryō.

(3) The *Intellectual Horizon*. the context of ideas on education (primarily Herbartian education but in coexistence with other tendencies as mentioned in the body of my text), the State (the Emperor as father and teacher; national history; and the formation of obedient subjects ready to serve the country and to die for the State), and the Japanese State in the international situation of the times.

(4) The *Point of View* of each author and its main presuppositions, such as the Emperor system; the *Kokutai*; the theory of evolution centered on the survival of the fittest; Japanese culture as superior to other Eastern cultures and inferior to some Western countries. The result is that there is a double dimension of interpretation:

- a) a vertical dimension: each interpretation makes sense by itself, which is the case for each author in his courses;
- b) a horizontal dimension, which would be the result of a possible dialogue among the early interpretations. This would lead us to the perception of a hermeneutical horizon.

(5) The *Hermeneutical Horizon* in both its textual and interlocutionary aspects is present both among the texts of several authors writing on the Rescript (this is why several of them are included in sections II–V), and in the students' social understanding. This can be seen more clearly when we consider that at this stage there were several *points still undecided concerning the interpretation of the Rescript*. Let us look at some examples. In this early period different authors gave different answers to questions such as:

- a) How many phrases are there in the Rescript? (twenty-one, thirty-three, etc.).
- b) How many virtues are mentioned in the Rescript? (eleven, twelve, more?).<sup>44</sup>
- c) How is the *Kokutai* constituted? (See INOUE Enryō. *Treatise on a Living Filial Piety and Loyalty* (see note 22), pp. 70–73).
- d) What counts as *Kokutai no seika* 国体の精華? (See INOUE Enryō. *The Mysterious Meaning of the Rescript* (see note 27), p. 34).

<sup>44</sup> A later writer says that the Imperial Rescript was designed for an ideal formation of the citizen and that we find fifteen virtues included in it. OGATA Toshio 尾形利雄. 『日本近世教育史の諸問題』 [Problems in the history of Japanese modern education] (Tokyo: 校倉書房, 1988), p. 207.

- e) The good and loyal subject lays down his life: 1) for the State?; 2) for the *Kokutai*?; 3) for the Imperial Household?; 4) for the Emperor?; 5) for the *Ōyake*?
- (6) The *Conceptual System* of Confucian origin and of European origin used in the context of Japanese culture. Some of these central concepts have been pointed out in the body of my text.
- (7) The *Expository Modes*: through concepts, in all the cases considered above; through examples, as we can see in the texts of both Tetsujirō and Enryō; and through images, as can be seen in the text of Enryō.
- (8) Of special interest is the question, how does Enryō's text make *Sense*? What kind of world does his text disclose? What kind of moral attitude does he intend to form in the "back of the mind" of the student through a well-designed course of moral education based on his interpretation of the Rescript? What we have been able to perceive through this study is that:
- a) The text was *graded* appropriately for the students of secondary school age.
  - b) It included *didactic recourses* that would make an impression on the student if the teacher was pedagogically well trained.
  - c) His main purpose was to lead the student to perceive the *historical rationality* in the vision of the kind of subject depicted in and demanded by the Rescript, rather than a kind of subject derived from Enryō's own vision of the world resulting from his travels abroad.
  - d) This is done on the basis of *a well-founded principle*: the inseparable identity of loyalty and filial piety, which for Enryō constitutes the above-mentioned historical rationality which makes sense within the living tradition of the Imperial Household and the contemporary world-situatedness of Japan.
  - e) Through the addition of the *kadai* or take-home questions, Enryō opened a way towards a questioning attitude on the part of the students, so that a fruitful *dialogue* was made possible. At the same time, parents and friends could express their views and take part in dispelling the doubts in the students' minds, thus making possible what Gadamer called a "fusion of horizons."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Concerning the "fusion of horizons" (*horizonverschmelzung*), as a plurality which includes past and present, one's own and others' direct and metaphoric meanings embodying traditional and new perspectives, we read, "In the process of understanding there takes place a real fusing of horizons". See Hans-Georg GADAMER. *Truth and Method*, 2nd. ed. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1979), pp. 273, 337. See also p. 358, where GADAMER says that "In our analysis of the hermeneutical process we saw that to acquire a horizon of interpretation required a 'fusion of horizons'."

- f) By presenting the *historical rationality* of the contents and by the examples that showed them present and active in tradition, plus the supportive assent of those socially related to the students, through his five-year course Enryō could convince them to become *like* the ideal subject depicted in his text.
- g) It is well known that Enryō was a nationalist patriot who favored a strong State, and who perceived the *critical context* of Japan's international relations, and saw the need to form the subjects of the State according to the characteristics he identified in the Rescript.
- h) He brings the student to the perception of a distinctive *Japanese way of life* which accords with the directives of the Imperial text. Particular emphasis is laid on the character of the *socio-political self*, which is concerned with mutual relationships: loyalty to the groups and institutions one belongs to; respect for the good name and property of others; trust in a communitarian spirit; social and cultural expectations and promises; benevolence and requital of favors; friendship and courtesy; order and advancement; sympathy towards human and non-human beings; filial duty towards father-figures; the search for truth and preservation of freedom, and so on.

And thus, the answer is that Enryō's course makes sense through its disclosure of a world inhabited by the *kind of subject the Emperor desired*, according to Enryō's understanding.

(9) In this manner Enryō's course could bring about the final *Desired Outcome* of such education which, as quoted from MORI Arinori at the beginning, was that,

They will be the Imperial subjects who completely fulfill their duties, which means that when called upon to do so they will willingly give their lives for the State. Thus the aim of education is to cultivate persons who can be of service to the State and nation.

Here we should keep in mind the difference between later militaristic totalitarian tendencies and the sovereign-subject relationship that was the basis for Enryō's and other interpretations of the Rescript before 1908. As an additional result of my overview of the hermeneutic process I would like to add a reflection on this aspect.

## 2. Corollary

Not only in Enryō's course but also in other interpretations there is reference to the role of the Emperor as sovereign and paterfamilias. This is related to what ISHIDA Takeshi 石

田雄 called the idealistic view of a Familial-State 家族国家 which he finds exemplified in Tetsujirō's interpretation of the Imperial Rescript, when he says: "a nation is the extension of a family; there is no difference between the sovereign of a country that directs and gives orders to the subjects and the parents of a family that kindly instruct their children and grandchildren." Ishida remarks that this is not yet said in the context of an already established Familial-State nor in a totalitarian view of the State.<sup>46</sup>

Through the several interpretations presented above, we can perceive the beginnings of the double transformation Ishida mentions: a) the Emperor became not only a sovereign but also an Imperial Paterfamilias 天皇親政, and even at this early time, a central figure of a "mystified Imperial system" 天皇制の神秘化 in which the "Imperial Household is our Head Family;"<sup>47</sup> and consequently, b) through the indissoluble "union of loyalty and filial piety" 忠孝一致 the subject was transformed into a filial son/daughter, and from filial son/daughter into a soldier, who could be "of service to the State and nation," and to the Emperor and the Imperial Household. In this process the motive was no longer the call of duty, nor obedience to the commands of the Emperor or of the State, but rather, a hidden dimension within Japanese society that is also present in the interpretations of the Rescript and which, it seems to me, has not been clearly stated up to now.

From the content of the texts we have examined we can say that the fundamental principle which lies at the foundation of Japanese society and can become the basis for its most powerful motivation is the concept of *on* 恩 and its reciprocal concept *hōon* 報恩, that is to say, the concept of "favor" and its "requital." This would be characteristic of Japanese society and not derived from the Chinese manner of thinking about favor, kindness, or grace, even though the characters used for *on* and *hōon* were imported from China. In this sense, the requital of favors is counted among the virtues that promote personal relations in ordinary times. This fundamental principle is so strongly felt within Japanese society that the subject is not moved by a legal "duty" 義務 or obedience to the law, by submission to power, or by gratitude for some kindness, but by the weight of the moral requirement to repay the favor.

<sup>46</sup> ISHIDA Takeshi 石田雄. 『明治政治思想史研究』 [Studies in the history of political thought of the Meiji era], 8th ed. (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1969), pp. 5–215, see especially pp. 6–7, 22.

<sup>47</sup> 「皇室は我らの宗家なり」 (*Kōshitsu wa warera no sōke nari*), quoted from lesson 11 of the 1911 State-approved Textbook for the Third Year of the Superior Course, in ISHIDA Takeshi 石田雄. 『近代日本政治構造の研究』 [Research into the political structure of modern Japan], 9th ed. (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1971), pp. 5–8, 23. INOUE Enryō writes, "in our country, the sovereign and the people are One House, [and] the Imperial Household is our Head Family," 『忠孝活論』 (see note 22), p. 70. Cf. above page 31.

In the hermeneutics of the Rescript this is interpreted as a favor received directly from the Emperor and this "favor" 恩 calls for "requital" 報恩 at all costs from the Japanese subjects. On this basis was predicated also the above-mentioned concept of *fuyoku* 扶翼 by Enryō, which would result in the sincere support and assistance by the subject in the Imperial task of promoting the welfare of the nation and its nationals.

This much can be inferred from the several places where we find the concept of "requital of favor" in TAKASAKI Masakaze.<sup>48</sup> Tetsujirō places a special emphasis on the requital of the favors received from the Ancestors, and on the requital of the "Imperial favor" 皇恩.<sup>49</sup> Enryō also writes about the Imperial favor when he says in the section on the Imperial Household: "Precisely we subjects, feeling deeply the Imperial favor and the virtue of the sovereign, must be moved to tears" because of the Imperial concern that is expressed in the poem: "I pray to you for the eternal tranquility of the people: Protect our world, Oh Great Goddess of Ise!"<sup>50</sup> The appropriate response would be "to repay the favor of the sovereign" 君恩に報じる.<sup>51</sup> And in the last lesson of Book III, Enryō writes: "Through the union of loyalty and filial piety to give everything for the Imperial Household is the peculiar way of the Japanese nation: we must bodily appropriate this idea deeply, and must desire day and night to repay the Imperial favor and divine virtue [皇恩神徳に報答]".<sup>52</sup>

In order to have a balanced view of this deepest aspect of Japanese society, some authors have put it within the context of *giri-ninjō* 義理人情, that is the "debt of gratitude" and "kindness" (usually translated as "duty" and "humanity"). It can be considered, not only in concrete situations described as social obligations in general (as a "social matter" 公事 *ōyake-goto*) and human emotion (as a "personal matter" 私事 *wataku-shi-goto*) that permeates, unifies, and consolidates Japanese society,<sup>53</sup> but also in their deeper meaning into which they were transformed, that is to say, "as a kind of *Gestalt*" in Japanese mentality.<sup>54</sup> In this regard DOI Takeo 土居健郎 takes the concept of "*amae*" [甘

48 TAKASAKI. 『尋常小学修身口授用書』 (see note 15), bk. 2, lesson 16: "The requital of favors (example of Ōishi Yoshikane)," pp. 20–21. See also bk. 3, lesson 1, pp. 21–23 and bk. 3, lesson 3, pp. 25–26.

49 INOUE Tetsujirō. 『勅語衍義』 (see note 21), pp. 4, 10, 15, 16, and 19 on the favor and blessings of the Ancestors. We also find it, for example, in bk. 2, ch. 1, section 3 about the "Ancestors" of his 『中学修身教科書』 (see note 30), and bk. 3, ch. 2, section 7 and bk. 4, ch. 2, section 3.

50 INOUE Enryō. 『中等修身書』 (see note 33), bk. 2, lesson 1, p. 3. See also lesson 2.

51 INOUE Enryō. 『中等修身書』 (see note 33), bk. 2, lesson 2.

52 INOUE Enryō. 『中等修身書』 (see note 33), bk. 3, lesson 35.

53 MINAMOTO Ryōen 源了圓. 『義理と人情：日本の心情の一考察』 [*Giri and ninjō: A reflection on Japanese feelings*] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1969), p. 39.

54 DOI Takeo. *The Anatomy of Dependence*, trans. by John BESTER (New York: Kodansha International, 1973), p. 33. We find further reflections on *amae* in some other of his publications. For example, DOI Takeo 土居健郎. 『「甘え」の雑稿』 [Miscellaneous texts on *amae*] (Tokyo: 弘文堂, 1975); 『「甘え」さまざま』 [Diverse (themes) concerning *amae*] (Tokyo: 弘文堂, 1989), ch. 1–2; 『「甘え」の思想』 [The idea of

え] as an essential factor smoothing the path of human exchanges" (p. 32). This would be a central concept to which are linked other "Japanese words dealing with human relations [... which] reflect some aspect of the *amae* mentality," as in the case of *giri* and *ninjō*, which "indicate responses that have a close bearing on *amae*" and, from this perspective, "would seem to exist in a kind of organic relationship to each other" (p. 33). Insofar as *amae* reflects a "desire to retain [the] good will" of the other, "both *giri* and *ninjō* have their roots deep in *amae*" (p. 35). Doi says that *giri* relationships take place "in areas where it is officially permitted to experience *ninjō*" (p. 34). All of this leads to the need for clarification of "the relationship between the concept of *on* and *giri*". He explains this relationship in the following manner:

*on* implies receiving some kindness—i.e. *ninjō*—from another, and also implies that *on* calls into existence a *giri*. To put it differently, *on* means that one has incurred a kind of psychological burden as a result of receiving a favor, while *giri* means that *on* has brought about a relationship of interdependence. (p. 34)

This would throw light on the manner in which such concepts as *on* and *hōon*, and especially *kōon* 皇恩, or *kun'on* 君恩, would be placed as the deep psychological foundations of Japanese society. However, from this point of view we would say that in Doi's presentation *giri* would involve relationships between ordinary human beings, however exalted their position, but the personality of the Emperor would not be included, as properly speaking there is no *interdependence* between Emperor and subjects and in this sense, there is no *giri* towards the Emperor or towards the Imperial Ancestors.

Perhaps we should say that between *on* and *giri* there is a moral aspect expressed as *hō-on*, or *on-gaeshi* 恩返し,<sup>55</sup> which does not imply a social *giri* relationship in the case of the Emperor or the Imperial Ancestors. This would bring us back to the Tokugawa and early Meiji notion of the relationship between *kō* 孝 and *on* (as in NAKAE Tōju<sup>56</sup> and MOTODA Eifū), which considers *on* as the basis and foundation of *kō*.<sup>57</sup>

*amae*] (Tokyo: 弘文堂, 1996), ch. 1–2. In 『「甘え」と社会科学』 [*Amae* and the social sciences] (Tokyo: 弘文堂, 1981), a book written in collaboration with ŌTSUKA Hisao 大塚久雄 and KAWASHIMA Takeyoshi 川島武宜, Doi writes, "*Amae* is the emotion and action of approaching and desiring to become one with an other," p. 9.

55 Doi Takeo does not emphasize this aspect and rather subsumes it under *amae*. Doi. *The Anatomy of Dependence* (see note 54), p. 61.

56 「孝徳をあきらかにせんと思ふには、まづ父母の恩徳を観念すべし」 [When trying to clarify the virtue of filial piety, first of all you have to reflect and consider the virtue of the favor of [your] parents.], NAKAE Tōju 中江藤樹. 『翁問答』 [Conversations of an old man], vol. 1, question 13; in vol. 29 of 『日本思想大系』 [Great series of Japanese thought] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1974), p. 33.

57 This aspect is treated in detail in " 'Filial piety' as ideology," chapter 2 of KAWASHIMA Takeyoshi 川島



I will end this corollary with the assertion that it is very likely that the deepest factor in the motivation of the subject carried out in the *shūshin* courses was achieved through recourse to the reciprocal concepts of *on* (especially as *kōon* and *kun'on*) and *hō-on* as they were felt, understood, and practiced in the Meiji period. At the same time we should keep in mind, as we have elsewhere ascertained, that Enryō's view of education as character formation is centered on the concept of *makoto* 誠 or *shisei* 至誠, so that "sincerity" would be the internal, subjective moving factor for loyalty and filial piety, that is, for the requital of the Imperial favor.<sup>58</sup>

In this manner, we come to see that in the case of the late Meiji-period interpretations of the Imperial Rescript on Education it can also be asserted that, "Understanding is always inextricably informed by the perspective we bring to bear in the act of understanding. Understanding is a product of our language, our history, our traditions. [...] Our understanding is shaped by the way we belong to the world."<sup>59</sup>

武宜. 『イデオロギーとしての家族制度』 [The family system as ideology] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, [1957] 1970), pp. 88–125.

58 This would agree with the interpretation that says, 「忠の本来の意味は他者に対するまことやまごころであり」 [The original meaning of loyalty is the sincerity or wholeheartedness vis-à-vis the other.], that is the sovereign. See TSUBOI Hideo 壺井秀生. 『日本人の道德思想』 [The moral thought of the Japanese] (Tokyo: Sōgō Bunka Shuppan, 1981), pp. 85–86.

59 Francis J. MOOTZ and George H. TAYLOR. *Gadamer and Ricoeur: Critical Horizons for Contemporary Hermeneutics* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011), p. 1.